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The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*

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The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (Hsien-yü ching)*

with an appended translation of
"Sudatta Raises a Monastery"

Victor H. Mair

ABSTRACT

The bibliographical comments on *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* in the *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi [Collected Notes on the Making of the Tripiṭaka]* (compiled by Seng-yu [445-518] between about 505 and 515) provide tantalizingly specific, but not altogether conclusive, information concerning the linguistic antecedents of this translated collection of edifying Buddhist tales. The initial impression one gains is that the text was translated into Chinese not from Sanskrit or another Indian language, but rather ostensibly from Khotanese. Since *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* was rendered into Chinese at a quite early date (445 CE), it offers great potential for making more precise our understanding of the transmission of Buddhist literature from India to China, in particular the role of Central Asian vernaculars.

The aim of this paper is to examine carefully the available evidence from the sutra itself, from parallel translations in other languages, and from additional historical data in an attempt to determine the immediate source of the Chinese translation. Naturally, it has been necessary to focus on the phonology of proper names and transcriptions of technical terms, but other types of data have been taken into consideration. It would appear that, while the sutra has a solid background in Indian language, literature, and lore, its transmission through Central Asia gave it a distinct coloring that sets it apart from purely Indian texts. The fact that *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* was translated, compiled, and entitled by Chinese monks working in Central Asia and in China adds still another layer of complexity to the text. The relationships among the Indian, the Central Asian, and the Chinese aspects of this sūtra are extremely subtle and reflect well the nature of the complicated process whereby Buddhism spread from its homeland to different countries.

First, in the five regions of India there are pure Indic (*fan* 梵) languages. Second, north of the Himalayas there are Central Asian (*hu* 胡) languages.... In the western lands, there are the Indian and the Central Asian -- should we not divide them north and south? If we do not consider this, it will lead roughly to the following three errors: 1. The error of changing what is Central Asian into Indic by explicating the Central Asian withough analyzing it and thus turning it back into Indic. 2. The error of not being adept in the phonology of Central Asian and Indic languages which results in causing the Central Asian to be taken as Indic. 3. The error of not realizing that there are indirect translations.... First, direct translation is, for example, when the bundled leaves of a text from the five regions of India come directly to China in the east and are translated. Second, indirect translation is, for example, when a sūtra is transmitted north of the mountains to Kroraina or Karashahr where, [the people] not understanding Indic languages, it is translated into a Central Asian language. For instance, in Indic they say *ʔɔ-pa-da-jia (upādhyāya)*, in Sogdian they say *kwət / ɣwət-dʑia'*, and in Khotanese they say *ɣwa-dʑɨaŋʰ*. Again, for "heavenly king," in Indic they say *kuə̆-kjwin-la* and in Central Asian languages they say *bji-saɨ / ʂɛɽ -mən*. Third, a translation may be both direct and indirect as, for example, when a *tripiṭaka* master comes directly bearing a bundle of leaves. **If his way passes through Central Asian countries, he may bring Central Asian language along with him.**

> Tsan-ning 贊寧 (919-1001), in his commentary (*lun* 論) at the end of scroll (*chüan* 卷) 3 of *Sung kao-seng chuan [Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks]* 宋高僧傳, *T*T50(2061).723bc, (emphasis added).

The central document for beginning the study of the linguistic antecedents of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish [Hsien-yü ching]* 賢愚經 (hereafter *SWF*) is provided by Seng-yu 僧祐 (445-518) in his *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi [Collected Records on the Making of the Tripiṭaka]* 出三藏記集 which was compiled between about 505 and 515. This is the "*Hsien-yü ching* chi [Record of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*]" 賢愚經記 (*TT*55[2145].67c9-68a1), the twentieth item in scroll 9. The *Collected Records* is the first and most important catalog of Chinese Buddhist texts and Seng-yu was the founder of the grand tradition of Buddhist bibliography in China.

Record of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*[1]
Newly composed by Śākya Seng-yu

The twelve classes of scripture[2] are for differentiating the gates of the Law.[3] As for the primary and secondary causes[4] of the kalpas[5] of the remote past, such matters are illuminated in the *jātaka*[6] whereby the knowledgeable may gain understanding,[7] and their principles are also aided by the *avadāna*.[8] We may say that *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* embraces both of these categories.[9]

The Kansu[10] *śramaṇa*,[11] Śākya T'an-hsüeh 曇學, Wei-te 威德,[12] and others, altogether eight monks, jointly resolved to travel from place to place,[13] searching afar for sacred texts. At the Great Monastery[14] in Khotan, they happened upon a Quinquennial Meeting.[15] In Chinese, Quinquennial Meeting is "Five-yearly Assembly of Everyone in the Great Community."[16] The various students of the Tripiṭaka each expatiated upon the jewels of the Law.[17] They preached on the sutras and lectured on the *vinaya*,[18] teaching according to their specialities.[19] T'an-hsüeh and the other seven monks, following the circumstances,[20] divided up to listen. Thereupon they vied in practicing the Central Asian[21] sounds and split[22] them into Chinese meanings. With intensive thought, they did a thorough translation,[23] each writing what he had heard. They returned and arrived at Kocho,[24] whereupon they assembled their translations[25] into a single text. Having done so, they crossed over the shifting sands and carried it back to Liang-chou.

At that time, the *śramaṇa* Śākya Hui-lang 慧朗 was the leading monk[26] in Kansu. His accomplishments in the Way[27] were deep and broad and he had a comprehensive grasp of *vaipulya*.[28] He considered that

what was recorded in this sūtra had its source in *avadāna*, that what is illuminated by *avadāna* conveys both good and bad, and that the opposition between good and bad is the distinction between the wise and the foolish. Among sūtras that had been transmitted in the past, there were already many entitled[29] *avadāna*. Therefore, he changed the name in conformity with the subject matter, calling it the *Wise and the Foolish.*

In the twenty-second year of the Primal Excellence reign period (445), when it was the *yi-yu* year of the sixty-year cycle, this sutra was first compiled.

The *śramaṇa* Śākya Hung-tsung 弘宗 of the Celestial Peace Monastery (T'ien-an-ssu) in the capital[30] was resolute and pure in his keeping of the precepts[31] and simple and plain in the exercise of his intentions. When this sūtra first arrived,[32] he was following[33] his master[34] in Kansu. At the time he was a *śrāmaṇera*[35] and only fourteen years of age. He himself was apprised of its compilation and observed the matter personally. By the fourth year of the Celestial Supervision reign period (505),[36] he had had eighty-four springs and autumns,[37] altogether sixty-four years as an ordained monk.[38] He was the number one elder[39] of the capital. It had been seventy years since the sūtra arrived in China.[40] In making a comprehensive collection of the canon, I inquired near and far, going personally to interview Hung-tsung,[41] and verifying this matter face-to-face. He was advanced in years and eminent in virtue, upright of heart and brilliant in his attestation.[42] Therefore I have drawn up these notes of what he conveyed to me as a record to inform later students.

This "Record" has been distilled in Seng-yu's bibliographical notice on *SWF* (*TT*55[2145].12c15-18):

The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish, 13 scrolls.[43] Appeared in the twenty-second year of the Primal Excellence reign period (445).

The above text altogether consists of thirteen scrolls. In the time of Emperor Wen (reigned 424-452) of the Sung dynasty, the *śramaṇa* from Liang-chou, Śākya T'an-hsüeh[44] and Wei-te, obtained the Central Asian text (*hu-pen* 胡本) of this sūtra in Khotan and translated it in Kocho. Transmitted by Śākya Hung-tsung[45] of the Celestial Peace Monastery.

At the beginning of each scroll of the sūtra itself, we find the following notation: "Translated at Kocho by the Liang-chou *śramaṇa* Hui-chüeh[46] and others of the Northern Wei[47] dynasty."

Upon first examination, these records would seem to provide us with an abundance of detailed and virtually first-hand information about the origins of *SWF*. It was heard by eight Chinese monks from the important Kansu provincial town of Liang-chou[48] who had gone to Khotan for the specific purpose of acquiring sacred texts. While they were in Khotan, they were fortunate enough to be present at the celebration of the *pañca-vārṣika [pariṣad]*, a quinquennial meeting of enormous proportions to which tens of thousands of lay people came from the surrounding area to pay their respects to the thousands of monks who were known to inhabit the monasteries of that important Silk Road city.[49] On that occasion, they listened to religious teachers tell the stories that are preserved in *SWF*. The Chinese monks seem to have made preliminary translations, based on their notes, in Khotan and then took these back to Kocho at the other (eastern) end of the Tarim basin where they apparently polished them and assembled them into a single volume. From there, they returned to their home monastery in Liang-chou where the sūtra was recompiled and given a strictly Chinese title by their local superior.

Upon closer examination and reflection, however, a host of questions assails us: What language(s) was /were the lectures delivered in? In Sanskrit, Prakrit, Khotanese, or some other Central Asian or Indian language? While Seng-yu generally does make a distinction between *fan* 梵 as "brahmanic" (i.e., Indian) and *hu* 胡 as roughly "Indo-Iranian" (i.e., Central Asian), the division is by no means a hard-and-fast one, since there are instances where he uses *hu* to refer to Sanskrit. How could the Chinese monks understand these lectures, whether they were given in an Indian or in a Central Asian language? Although "they vied in practicing the Central Asian sounds," it is highly unlikely that they would have acquired sufficient facility in them during the period while they were sojourning in Khotan to make much sense of the lectures without some assistance from bilingual intermediaries. Were their notes verbatim translations or mere summaries and paraphrases? Were they able to take stenographic records of the lectures or were there special sessions for them in which the speed of delivery was carefully monitored to ensure that they would catch eveything? Was there really, as the bibliographical notice states explictly, a "Central Asian text" (*hu-pen*) of the sūtra upon which they based their translation? Tanya Storch, a apecialist on the *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* and other early catalogs, has recently shown clearly that, even when a Chinese Buddhist bibliographer speaks of a *hu-pen*, there are no assurances that a physical, written text in an Indian or

Central Asian language necessarily existed and that, more often than not, there was none because of the Indian Buddhist emphasis on memorization and oral transmission. It was the Chinese monks and pilgrims who were fixated on and demanded written scriptures; there are documentable cases in which these were created to meet the wishes of textually-minded Chinese Buddhists.[50]

Continuing with our questions, if the leading Liang-chou monk found it necessary to rename the sūtra,[51] does this not imply that there was an original Indian or Central Asian text bearing the title such-and-such an *avadāna*? If so, can we identify it with any known Sanskrit texts of that title? Or if the Chinese monks heard the stories from a number of different lecturers and storytellers, then is the *SWF* a composite text assembled by themselves? What was the precise process of compilation? What was the relationship between the sūtra as it was translated in Khotan from the monks' notes and that which they assembled in Kocho and further between the Kocho compilation and the Liang-chou sūtra?[52] Could the local lay people in Khotan who presumably also attended the lectures have understood them if they were delivered in Sanskrit or Prakrit? Or were the lectures restricted only to monks who would have known enough of Indian languages to understand them (assuming that they may not have been delivered in Khotanese), perhaps as pronounced with a special local accent? Might the lectures have been accompanied by some sort of simultaneous interpretation into the local vernacular and perhaps even into Chinese? In the remainder of this study, we will explore these and other related questions in an attempt to understand better the process of transmission of Indian scriptures to China and the role of Central Asian languages therein, bearing in mind that many mysteries surrounding the *SWF*, as well as other Buddhist texts in Chinese, must remain unanswered until further data become available.

Khotan was a thriving center of Buddhist studies from an early period.[53] Already by around 260 CE a Chinese monk named Chu Shih-hsing 朱士行 went there to gain a better understanding of the doctrine and to acquire Buddhist texts. This is the first historically attested instance of a Chinese monk going beyond the borders of his own country in search of scriptures. He ended up staying in Khotan until he died there at approximately the age of 80, in the meantime sending back to China in 282 some 90 bundles of scriptures with a Khotanese disciple, Puṇyadhana (?) or Pūrṇadharma (?). Some of these texts, in turn, were translated about the year 291 by a Khotanese Buddhist scholar named Mokṣala who had earlier gone to China. His assistant was a Sinicized Indian *upāsaka* ("lay devotee") named Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭 (Śuklaratna) who was responsible for the "oral transmission" (*k'ou-ch'uan* 口傳) to two Chinese who committed the Chinese translation to writing.[54] In 286, another Khotanese monk, Gītamitra, arrived

in Ch'ang-an with more Sanskrit texts to translate. According to the *K'ai-yüan Shih-chiao lu (Catalog of Śākyamuni's Doctrine in the Opened Prime Reign Period)*開元釋教錄, a translation of the *Shih fei-shih ching (Sūtra of the Timely and Untimely)* 時非時經 was made during the Western Chin period (265-316). The colophon to the sūtra states that "A foreign dharma master, Jo-lo-yen (Nārāyaṇa [?]), held in his hand the Central Asian text and delivered an oral translation by himself. A man of the Way from Liang-chou wrote it down in the city of Khotan."[55] In the early part of the fifth century, the famous Mahāyāna scholar from Magadha, Dharmakṣema, was working in Liang-chou. He had with him a partial manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* which he had brought from India. In order to complete the text, he went to Khotan in 412 or 413 where he recovered the second part of it. A pupil of Dharmakṣema, Chu-ch'ü Ching-sheng 沮渠京聲 (member of a noble Hunnish family who ruled over the Northern Liang dynasty between 397 and 439), journeyed from Liang-chou to Khotan to study Mahāyāna Buddhism at the Gomatīvihāra under an Indian teacher named Buddhasena (known as a lion among men in all the kingdoms of the western regions) who was said to have the prodigious capacity to recite orally more than 50,000 *gāthās* ("stanzas").[56] The *modus operandi* of such joint translation efforts can be partially comprehended by observing that Buddhasena's role was to do an "oral interpretation" (*k'ou-yi* 口譯) for Chu-ch'ü Ching-sheng. A monk in Hui-yüan's 慧遠 circle, Fa-ling 法領, brought back from Khotan an *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* which was translated by Buddhabhadra in 418-420.[57] It is obvious from these and many more examples which could be cited that "Chinese Buddhism" during the first half of the fifth century and before was a truly international, interethnic phenomenon and that Khotan and Liang-chou were key links in the transmission of this Indian religion to China.

Buddhism in Khotan was thus very much an Indian (especially a northwest Indian) phenomenon. Monks there were under the tutelage of Indian masters resident in the local monasteries and they emulated Indian styles and methods in all things pertaining to Buddhism. In a very real sense, Khotan for several centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era was an Indian colony in Central Asia. At the same time, Indian Buddhism in Khotan had a very close and special relationship to Buddhism as it was developing in China. Chinese pilgrims in search of texts often stayed in Khotan for long periods of time instead of going all the way to India and studied with Indian scholars settled there. The ties between Khotan and places like Tun-huang and Liang-chou in the Kansu Corridor were especially intimate. Such ties were not limited to religious activities but included commercial and economic links as well. Although the distances (both physical and cultural) separating northwestern China from Khotan and Khotan from northwestern India were great and the terrain was forbidding, contact and exchange were essentially

ongoing until Islam began to overwhelm the Buddhist statelets of Central Asia in the eighth century. It is, then, not surprising, that T'an-hsüeh and the other monks from Liang-chou would have decided to travel to Khotan in search of Buddhist texts to translate. The problem, however, is to determine precisely what sort of Buddhist texts they encountered in Khotan in the middle of the fifth century -- whether they were strictly Indic language texts, whether they were written or oral texts, and so forth.

Compared to those of other *avadāna* collections, the stories in the *SWF* tend to be relatively long. The narrative expansiveness of the *SWF avadāna* tales is obvious from the following rough chapter lengths measured in registers of the *TT* edition: 16 (nos. 14, 42), 15.5 (no. 40), 14 (no. 52), 12.75 (no. 57), 11.25 (no. 23), 11 (no. 34), 10.5 (no. 1), 9.5 (no. 31), 9.25 (no. 22), 9 (no. 48), 8.5 (no. 37), 7.5 (no. 32), 5.5 (no. 24, 39), 5.25 (no. 53), 4.5 (nos. 16, 67), 4 (no. 30), 3.75 (no. 64), 3.5 (nos. 7, 8, 21, 25), 3 (nos. 2, 6, 15, 20, 36, 43, 55), 2.75 (nos. 61, 68), 2.5 (nos. 18, 19, 28, 35, 54, 56, 58, 65, 66), 2.25 (nos. 26, 33), 2 (nos. 3, 5, 12, 29, 44, 46, 50, 51), 1.75 (no. 38), 1.5 (nos. 17, 27, 62, 69), 1.25 (nos. 9, 10, 47, 49), 1 (nos. 4, 11, 13, 41, 45, 60), .75 (nos. 59, 63). In this regard, some of the stories do read like lecture notes that may have been taken from oral tales and that have not been fully regularized as a written text by a single authorial voice.

The composite, lecture-note nature of the *SWF* is further evidenced by the following features:

1. Although the prosimetric form is characteristic of Indian Buddhist narrative literature, it occurs in only two out of the 69 tales (nos. 1 [a few examples of short verse] and 52 [one occurrence]). There is a *gāthā* (actually a brief listing of the four noble truths) in no. 58 and another (actually a very short *dhāraṇī*) in no. 61, but these can certainly not be said to constitute an alternation of verse with prose.

2. There seems to be no principle of organization in the manner in which the individual tales are arranged. One of the shortest tales (no. 41) occurs next to one of the longest ones (no. 42). The content and themes of the stories vary greatly, although naming and karmic causation are present in most of them, as is befitting a collection of *avadāna*.

3. There is a great disparity of styles. For example, no. 34 is written in highly quatrisyllabic clauses while no. 39 is much more varied in the syllabic length of its clauses. The same is true of language usage, with

some stories being more colloquial than others. This may be indicative of the possible partial oral origins of some of the tales since there are startling remnants of vernacular usage which are extremely unusual for such an early period. For example, in no. 27, we find *na* 那 functioning as a question marker (384a10): "'How can poverty be sold?'" 貧那可賣 . This is one of the earliest known examples of *na* as a rhetorical interrogative particle.[58]

4. Diverse transcriptions and translations of the same names and terms occur, sometimes even within the same story (e.g., those for Maudgalyāyana on p. 370a).

It would appear that these inconsistencies in the *SWF* are due to the complicated nature of the recording, translation, and compilation of the text by eight Chinese monks and their superior in Liang-chou.

There is a considerable number of textual differences among the various extant editions (Korean, Sung, Yüan, and Ming) of the *SWF*. By referring to the earliest, unregularized transcriptions (see the charts of Phonological Data at the end of this study), we may perhaps draw some worthwhile conclusions concerning the language in which the stories were originally heard by the eight Chinese monks from Liang-chou in Khotan. Without doubt, the most striking anomaly of *SWF* transcriptions is that Sanskrit nouns ending in *-a* appear in this Chinese text with *-i* endings (occasionally *-ki* or with nasalized *-i*).[59] The most remarkable instance of this phenomenon has not been entered in the charts but will receive separate treatment in the following paragraphs.

The capital of the northwest Indian province of Gāndhāra was Taxila (according to the Greek rendering). Located at 35°4'N x 72°44'E, the ruins of this ancient city lie approximately 22 miles northwest of Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Taxila sat at the junction of three major trade routes: 1. from India to the east on the "Royal Highway" of Megasthenes; 2. from West Asia; 3. from Kashmir and Central Asia. It was destroyed by the Huns in the early part of the fifth century not long after Fa-hsien's visit. Because Taxila had long been a great center of learning and was at the heart of Prakritic Buddhist culture, the pronunciation of this name is particularly important for testing whether or not the stories of the *SWF* were told in so-called Gāndhārī Prakrit. One would expect that, if the *SWF* stories were originally delivered in true Gāndhārī Prakrit, the lecturers would certainly have gotten the name of the capital of Gāndhāra right. Judging from the

sinographic transcriptions, however, we may be sure that they were not speaking in that language, at least not an unalloyed form of it.

While no one is certain of the original meaning of the name Taxila,[60] we have good information concerning its pronunciation in the major ancient Indian languages. In Sanskrit it is pronounced Takṣaśilā, in Pāli Tacchasilā, and in Prakrit Takkhasilā.[61] The usual sinographic transcriptions of these Indic forms are *t'e-ch'a-shih-lo / dək-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-ɕi-la* 特叉尸羅, *ta-ch'a-shih-lo / da-tʂʰai/tsʰɛː-ɕi'/ɕi'-la* 呾叉始羅 (Hsüan-tsang, first half of seventh century), *chu-ch'a-shih-lo / truwk-tʂʰait/tʂʰɛːt-ɕi-la* 竺刹尸羅 (Fa-hsien, first half of fifth century), *te-(ch'a-)shih-lo / tək-(tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-)ɕi-la* 德(叉)尸羅, *te-ch'a-yi-lo / tək-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-ʔji-la* 德差伊羅, *te-ch'a-shih-lo / tək-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-ɕi-la* 德叉尸羅, *she-ch'a-shih-lo / ɕia-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-ɕi-la* 奢叉尸羅, *cho-ch'a-shih-lo / traiwk/træːwk-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-ɕi'/ɕi'-la* 卓叉始羅, and *ta-ch'a-shih-lo / da-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-ɕi-la* 呾叉尸羅 (Hsüan-tsang's biography).[62] The name Taxila occurs eight times in the *SWF*,[63] each time consistently represented by the sinographic transcription *t'e-ch'a-shih-li / dək-tʂʰai/tsʰɛː-ɕi-liʰ* 特叉尸利 (representing a hypothetical **takṣaśilī* that the Liang-chou monks must have heard in Khotan). It is immediately obvious that the form of the name for Taxila heard by the Chinese monks in Khotan in the year 445 could not have been unadulterated Sanskrit, Pāli, or Prakrit. We should not rule out an Indic source entirely, however, for the modern vernaculars would have the following forms for the second half of the name: Kumāonī *-sili*, Hindī *-silī*, and Bihārī *-sillī*.[64] There is no available evidence, however, that such forms existed already in the fifth century.

Hiroshi Kumamoto, an authority on Khotanese, has described the linguistic situation as follows:

> **The front vowel *-i* or *-e*** (not necessarily long even if written in Brāhmī) instead of *-o* for the nominative singular ending of the *a*-stem nouns (by far the largest class), which is originally (before sandhi) *-as* / *-aḥ* in Sanskrit and *-ah* in Iranian, **is a peculiar feature of Eastern Central Asia.**[65] ...This feature is shared by Khotanese (nom. sg. of the *a*-stem *-ä* = a vowel close to *i*), Sogdian (nom. sg. of the Light Stem *-y*, which is *-i*), and Tocharian B (*-e*; in A the vowel drops altogether), but not by the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* (nom. sg. mostly *-o*, occasionally *-e/i*. Brough, Introduction, §75-77). Brough argues there that the latter form is the trace of the orignal from which the Gāndhārī version was made. The Sanskrit MS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from Khotan (= the so-called Petrovsky or the Kashgar MS.; Toda; Introduction to the Romanized text,

> p. xix) has in most cases *-a*, which agrees neither with the above languages nor with the standard Skt.[66]

According to Ronald Emmerick, another authority on Khotanese, "the sg. masc. ending *-i*... is common to Khotanese, Tumshuqese, and Sogdian. In the Northwest Prakrit of the Khotan *Dharmapada*, however, the ending is usually spelled *-o* or *-u*, occasionally *-a, -e,* or *-i*. In later inscriptions *-e* is found west of the Indus and *-o* east of it."[67]

The matter of the transcription for Taxila in the *SWF* is complicated by the fact that the first half of the name resembles Sanskrit or some forms of Prakrit more closely than it does Khotanese. Aside from the Prakrit forms already mentioned, we have *tacchai-* (Hemachandra [1088-1172]) and *tacchiya* (Old Māgadhī).[68] Whereas, in Khotanese, we find that the cognate stem is *ttāṣ-*.[69] The pure Khotanese form clearly ends in a sibilant, whereas the name as transcribed in the *SWF* has a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate preceded by a velar (the *-k* of the entering tone). Thus it would appear that the Chinese monks who were trying to record as precisely as possible the name of Taxila may have heard a basically Sanskritic or Prakritic form pronounced *à la* Khotan and with a Khotanese ending.

It has been suggested that since most of the situations where the place name Taxila occur in the *SWF* may be in the locative,[70] the Chinese monks who compiled the stories may actually have been trying to record that Khotanese grammatical form. Fortunately, it is attested in the Khotanese *Aśokāvadāna* as *Ttahiikṣa'śīlai* (Takṣaśilā looms large in this story, as does the founding of Khotan). The final diphthong was probably pronounced approximately as *ä* which would also make it fairly close to the Chinese transcription. Whether the sinographic transcription of the name Taxila in the *SWF* is meant to represent a Khotanese nominative or locative or some other case,[71] it is clear that the stem of the name is fundamentally Indic and that the ending would appear to represent some sort of Khotanese adaptation or borrowing of the word.[72]

As examples of how Khotanization of the presumably Prakrit forms of Sanskrit proper nouns occurred in the source material upon which the Chinese monks from Liang-chou relied, we may examine the names of the good and bad princes, Kalyāṇaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara (these are the Sanskrit forms). The Early Middle Sinitic reconstructions of the sinographic transcriptions of these names are respectively *kɨa-lɨaŋ-na^h-gɨa-li* and *pa-ba-gɨa-li* (see #107 and #109 in the phonological charts). The final *-i* in these names is manifestly a Khotanese phenomenon, while the simplification of internal consonants is largely the result of a prior Prakritization. The combined result of both processes would have yielded

*Kalyāṇṇagari and *Pābagari (or *Pāvagari)[73] which is roughly what the Liang-chou monks must have heard when they were in Khotan.

Given the whole of the available phonological data (see the charts at the end of this study in which the frequent shift from Indic *-a* to Central Asian *-i* is readily apparent), the most reasonable explanation would seem to be that the language(s) of the proper nouns and technical terms which the Chinese monks heard in Khotan was a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit (mostly the latter) pronounced in a Khotanese fashion.[74] This does not answer the question of the language of the whole text(s) the Chinese heard when they were in Khotan, but only the pronunciation of the proper nouns and technical terms in it/them. To answer the question of whether or not the texts heard by the Chinese were composed in Sanskrit, in Prakrit, or in Khotanese, we must now ask whether there existed an Indian prototype for the *SWF* or whether the Chinese monks from Liang-chou who heard the stories in it while they were in Khotan were fully responsible for its compilation. All indications are that there was indeed at least a partial Indian textual basis for the *SWF*, regardless of whether the Chinese monks were exposed to it only through oral presentation or whether someone actually showed it to them and explained for them the Sanskrit/Prakrit stories therein while reading directly from the book.

In the first place, it is fairly obvious that the Chinese monks originally referred to the *SWF* as some sort of an *avadāna* collection and that it was only when they reached Liang-chou, after they had completed its translation and compilation in Khotan and in Kocho (Turfan), that their superior renamed it something else which had a more Chinese-sounding ring to it. For this reason alone, therefore, we may hypothesize that there may well have been an Indian or Central Asian original upon which the Chinese based their collection. As a matter of fact, there are a couple of strong candidates for such a primary source-text that might well have constituted the core of the *SWF* and that might have been supplemented by other stories picked up from other sources by the Chinese monks while they were in Khotan.

There exists a voluminous *Jātakamālā* (which might just as well or better have been titled an *Avadānamālā* on the basis of the stories therein[75]) by the Buddhist poet Haribhaṭṭa. It consists of 34 stories and is written in the typical Indian narrative *campū* style (a prosimetric mixture of elegant prose and verse). The first story in this collection tells the celebrated legend of King Prabhāsa and his elephant, which is also the subject of the 49th story in the *SWF*. That in itself would be no cause for excitement, except that a number of highly specific details in the rendition of Haribhaṭṭa recur in the story as it is recounted in the *SWF*. To be sure, half a dozen stanzas from the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* seem to have been translated virtually verbatim in the *SWF* version, a remarkable

phenomenon which has recently been convincingly demonstrated by Michael Hahn.[76] As Hahn asserts, such uncanny correspondence between the two texts "cannot be explained by the assumption of a mere coincidence." Either the Haribhaṭṭa story was based on that in the *SWF* or the *SWF* story was based on that in the Haribhaṭṭa text (or on a closely related comparable collection).[77] Naturally, intermediary texts or explications cannot be ruled out; what is at stake is the relatedness and priority of the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* and the *SWF*.[78]

Since, by self-admission of the Chinese monks and by the very nature of the stories it contains (viz., strictly Indian), the *SWF* was derivative, it could not have been the source for the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā*. Therefore, the *SWF* had to be based at least partially on the Haribhaṭṭa text or on some text(s) closely related to it. Hahn gives other evidence which shows that Haribhaṭṭa must have lived before the first half of the fifth century,[79] so it is not impossible that his *Jātakamālā* itself may have been the inspiration for the Prabhāsa story which the Chinese monks heard in Khotan and which they included in their translated collection that came to be known as the *SWF*. We should note, incidentally, that many of the other stories in the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* are mirrored in the *SWF*.

We also know that a text entitled *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* circulated in Central Asia[80] and that it was unmistakably connected with the *SWF*. Insofar as the fragmentary condition of the manuscripts permits us to tell, the stories in this *avadānamālā* are identical with or similar to those in the *SWF*. The Uighur transcription of the title *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* has been found in colophons on two manuscripts recovered from Murtuq.[81] One of them (T.III.M.84-68) reads as follows:

Vaibaziki
sastntri kavi drri sangadas ////ka
kuišan (küšän) tilintin
toχrï tilinčä ////miš
šilazin pras tinki yangirti
toχrï tilintin
türkčä ävirmiš
dsakrmabuda'navtanamal nom bitig[82]

The holy book *Daśakarmabuddha-avadānamālā*[83] translated by the Vaibhāṣika, who knows the six philosophical systems (*ṣattantri*), *kārya-dhara* [or the *ṣattantrīkāvyadhara*] Saṅghadāsa... from Kuchean[84] into Tocharian and by Śīlasena Pr(ajñārakṣita[?]) anew from Tocharian into Turkish.[85]

According to the current scholarly consensus, this colophon would seem to indicate that the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* originated in Tocharian B (the language of the area around Kucha), was retranslated into Tocharian A (the language of the area around Karashahr), and thence was translated into Uighur. If this is actually what happened, it has two extremely important implications: 1. Popular Buddhist texts, while based on Indian models, were composed in Central Asian vernaculars; 2. The Tocharian B version of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* may either have been a source for the *SWF* or a collateral recension (more likely the former, since the *SWF* was clearly derived from some text[s] that Chinese monks encountered in Central Asia in the year 445). A beautifully illustrated Uighur manuscript of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* is preserved in the Rare Book Collection of Gest Library at Princeton University.[86] While it is only a single leaf and is damaged (especially on the left and right edges), enough remains to get a good idea of the contents, style, and format of this type of Uighur popular Buddhist literature.

A fragment of the Sogdian version of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* has also been identified; its title in Sogdian was *ðsʾ šyrʾkrtyh (The Ten Good Deeds)*,[87] which is comparable to that of the Uighur translations. The colophon to the Uighur version of this text cited above makes explicit the fact that this *avadānamālā* was not translated from Chinese. Since both the Uighur and Sogdian texts have transparently Indian-inspired titles, it is quite probable that there originally existed a Sanskrit/Prakrit text upon which they were based even though both seem to have been more immediately derived from Tocharian. Judging from the tales that it included[88] and from the title itself, there is a high degree of resonance between the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* and the *SWF*. *Daśa karmapathāḥ* refers to the way / path of the ten good karmas [and, by contrast, the ten bad karmas]. These, in turn, are based upon the *daśakuśala* ("ten good characteristics" from observation of the *daśa śikṣāpada* ["ten prohibitions / commandments"]) and avoidance of the *daśākuśala* ("ten evil things").[89] A number of the stories in the *SWF* are patently intended to illustrate comparable teachings. Only the existence of some such text as the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* or Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* upon which both drew can adequately account for the striking corresondences between the Kuchean story of Prabhāsa and that in the Chinese *SWF* pointed out by Lévi.[90]

Another collection of stories that is pertinent to the complicated composition and filiation of the *SWF* is the Khotanese *Jātaka-stava* which includes at least one story, that concerning Kāñcanasāra, which was also included in the *SWF* as well as in the Sogdian *ðsʾ šyrʾkrtyh* and in a Uighur *avadāna* collection.[91] While we have no evidence to assert that a written version of this text would have been available to the Liang-chou monks who

compiled the *SWF* in the middle of the fifth century, its existence is further proof that the stories in the latter collection were widely disseminated in medieval Central Asia in many different forms.[92] We should note, further, that a similar poem in Sanskrit by Jñānayaśas may have served as the model for the Khotanese text, another example of the Indian foundations for the stories of the *SWF*.[93]

The circumstances regarding the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the *SWF* also have a bearing on the history of this text. Ever since the publication of Takakusu's article on the relationship between the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *SWF*, it has been almost universally accepted that the latter is a translation of the former.[94] The Mongolian version is even more obviously based on the Tibetan. The situation, however, is not quite so neat as Takakusu had imagined. While there is no doubt that the Chinese and the Tibetan versions are indeed related in some fashion, the number of stories that are included, the order in which they are given, and the style in which they are written all differ markedly. Furthermore, three stories that occur in the Tibetan and Mongolian versions were not even present in the earliest known integral printed Chinese edition of the sutra, the Khitan, which is later than the time of the Tibetan translator, Chos-grub 法成 (ninth century),[95] although individual manuscript scrolls of the sūtra were made at Tun-huang where Chos-grub himself was active during the period of Tibetan rule. Where did he get the extra three stories? Were there other Chinese versions of the *SWF* that circulated independently of those that were accepted into the successive recensions of the canon? Judging from the disparities between the Tun-huang manuscript fragments of the *SWF* and the canonical versions, at least by the time of Chos-grub there was not just a single version of the text, but rather multiple versions, some of a rather local nature.

Another difficult point is that the technical terminology and proper names of the Tibetan version often are at variance with those of the Chinese, so the question arises of how Chos-grub could have come up with them were he relying solely on the canonical Chinese text. Perhaps there were other Chinese versions available than those we know of now (the Khitan, the Korean, the Sung, the Yüan, and the Ming editions).[96] Or perhaps he consulted a text or texts of the *SWF* in some other language(s) that may have been circulating in Central Asia. Nonetheless, there are many instances where he is patently following the sinographic transcriptions and often simply repeats the errors of the Chinese text (e.g., Ka-na-śi-ni-pa-li for Kāñcanasāra, where the *-pa-* syllable must have crept into the name through a Chinese mistranscription [see item #2 in the phonological charts]). This is particularly true in the matter of proper names, which was one of the chief reasons for Takakusu's claims concerning the indebtedness of the Tibetan text to the Chinese.[97] In any event, there is plentiful evidence which indicates that *avadāna* and other types of

collections containing stories that also occurred in the *SWF* were available in Khotanese, Sogdian, Uighur, Tocharian, and -- above all -- Indian languages in Central Asia by the time Chos-grub produced his Tibetan version. Furthermore, there is good evidence that these recensions either were prior to or arose independently of the Chinese version of the *SWF*.[98] We should thus not rule out the possibility that he was completely unaware of them or uninfluenced by them and worked solely from a single, canonical Chinese version.

From the above information concerning the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā*, the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā*, and the Tibetan and Mongolian translations, as well as from our knowledge of Indian *avadāna* literature in general,[99] it would appear that the Buddhist masters in Khotan from whom the Liang-chou monks heard the stories of the *SWF* would have based them upon one or more available Indian texts. In some cases, they must have followed the original texts very closely, because the relationship of the Chinese text to the Sanskrit/Prakrit original shows through clearly even in translation. There is no evidence whatsoever that there existed a written Khotanese exemplar of the *SWF*. This does not preclude the possibility, however, that oral Khotanese exegeses, paraphrases, and translations/interpretations of the Sanskrit/Prakrit source-texts might have been given extemporaneously. In view of the intimate ties between Khotanese and Kansu Buddhists, this would actually be a likely scenario. That is to say, some of the Chinese monks may have known a bit of Khotanese and vice versa; Seng-yu tells us that they did make an effort "to practice the Central Asian sounds." This is, to be sure, far more probable than that the Chinese monks would have had a sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit or Prakrit to be able to understand directly a lecture delivered or story told in one of these languages.[100] Furthermore, even if none of the eight Chinese monks understood enough Khotanese to make any sense of the oral interpretations (and it is highly unlikely that they did), there surely would have been present in Khotan bilingual individuals who could further have interpreted the Khotanese in Chinese for the visitors from Liang-chou. The colloquial elements in the *SWF* discussed above may also be said to constitute residual evidence of orality in the transmission process. Some of the more obvious trappings of oral transmission, however, such as the "Thus have I heard" at the beginning of each story and the felicitations expressed upon hearing its conclusion are merely formulaic and obligatory.[101]

There are striking parallels between what we have hypothesized for the recitation and explication of Sanskrit and Prakrit texts in fifth-century Khotan with those which actually occur when Pāli texts are presented in Thailand today. When a Pāli text is read aloud by a native Thai speaker, although he or she may try to pronounce it in a standard fashion, there is almost invariably a detectable Thai accent, yet there is no rearrangement or

other modification of the text. What usually happens when a scripture is recited or a lecture is delivered in Pāli is that a simultaneous translation into Thai is provided for those auditors who are not fully proficient in Pāli by someone who is bilingual. Conversely, Buddhist tales told in Thai are often highly colored with Pāli terminology and there exist a variety of different mixed styles (*nissāya*,[102] *vohāra*,[103] etc.) which combine canonical phrases or even whole sentences from Pāli with a matrix of Thai.[104]

Regardless of the fact that the *SWF* stories may have been delivered in a Khotanized form of Northwest Prakrit and that they were in all likelihood accompanied by oral Khotanese interpretations, we must recognize that they are, in the final analysis, fundamentally Indian in nature. The stories in the *SWF*, in spite of the fact that they were compiled by Chinese monks who heard them in Khotan, are all about Indian subjects, people, and places. What is more, Khotan itself was essentially an outpost of Indian culture on the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert. David Utz has succinctly pointed out

> ...the extent to which Indian methods of administration and religion, and even, to a certain extent, other aspects of Indian culture, such as medicine, formed the primary basis of Khotanese life, so that one may say with every justification that, by the 10th century, Khotan had become nothing less than an Indian urban center in the Tarim Basin. This point is illustrated by (1) the exclusive use of Indian scripts and, before the advent of the usage of the native Iranian language, Gāndhārī Prakrit for purposes of written communication, (2) the styling of the kings of Khotan [with Indian titles], (3) the all-pervasive practice of the Buddhist religion, and (4) the apparent importance of Indian medical practice.[105]

Specifically with regard to the role of Buddhism in Khotan, Utz further notes

> ...the enormous amount of Buddhist literature of direct Indian origin which survives in the Khotanese language and the overwhelming influence which the terminology and phraseology of Indian Buddhist texts have exerted upon the formation of the Buddhist Khotanese language. Indeed, the prestige of Buddhist Sanskrit would seem to have been so great that there was a reluctance to use Khotanese for religious purposes, and the growth of Buddhist Khotanese literature must have been relatively late.

> Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts have been found in the region of Khotan. Also, the existence of a Sanskrit-Khotanese phrasebook for travellers and an itinerary for a journey from Khotan to Kashmir during the 10th century further confirm close links between Khotan and India.[106]

If the ties between Khotan and India were still so close during the tenth century when Islam had already begun to make aggresive inroads at the western edge of the Tarim Basin, they were even closer during the middle of the fifth century when the *SWF* came into being. Consequently, although the *SWF* was compiled by Chinese monks from materials collected in Khotan and pronounced with a Khotanese accent, it is primarily an Indian text. Thus Jan Nattier's thesis[107] that Buddhist literature in Central Asia seems to have been transmitted exclusively in Indian languages before the beginning of the sixth century still stands.[108] In spite of Seng-yu's detailed bibliographical notices which superficially appear to indicate otherwise, the case of the *SWF* cannot be used to prove the existence of written Khotanese texts during the middle of the fifth century. It can, however, be used to demonstrate the nature of the appropriation and assimilation of Indian literature, especially texts composed in northwest Prakrit,[109] by local Buddhists in Khotan and their vital role in the transmission of such literature to China.

ABBREVIATIONS

M	Mongolian version
p.n.	proper name/noun
pl.n.	place name
SWF	*The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (Hsien-yü ching)*
T	Tibetan version
t.t.	technical term
TT	*Taishō Tripiṭaka* (the standard edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon)
X	missing
/	separates alternative readings/transcriptions

NOTES

First delivered at the "Buddhism across Boundaries" conference held at Hsi Lai University, January 3-6, 1993. A condensed version of the paper will appear in the conference volume that is currently being prepared for publication.

During the fall of 1992, *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* was the subject of a semester-long seminar held in the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (formerly the Department of Oriental Studies) at the University of Pennsylvania. Participants in the seminar, which was conducted by the author of this paper, included Daniel Boucher, Che-chia Chang, Daniel Cohen, Thomas Howell, Masayo Kaneko, Tansen Sen, Tanya Storch, and Wenkan Xu (senior editor of the *Hanyu da cidian [Unabridged Dictionary of Sinitic]* 汉语大词典). Many of the ideas presented here were first formulated and tested in the context of the seminar. The author is grateful to all of the students who took part in the seminar and provided him not only with insight and information but with excellent and substantial papers as well. The author also wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Ludo Rocher in dealing with Indic terms and Hiroshi Kumomoto, Ronald Emmerick, Oktor Skjærvø, and David Utz for Khotanese matters. The nuns of Hsi Lai Temple deserve special special thanks for making library resources available, for providing a tape of the oral presentation of this paper and the helpful comments of the "Buddhism across Boundaries" conference participants during the discussion period which followed, and for many other kind favors. Finally, although gathering the phonological data from the *SWF* was one of the most tedious and time-consuming chores he has ever undertaken, he wishes to thank Jan Nattier for putting him up to this challenging task in the first place.

1. Pelliot, "Neuf notes," pp. 258-260, has provided an integral French translation with several helpful notes. Portions of this key document have also previously been translated into French by Lévi, "Le sutra du sage et du fou," pp. 312-313, and into English by Takakusu, "Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool," pp. 458-459 and by Mair, *Painting and Performance*, pp. 39-40, 200 notes 1-6.

2. These are the twelve categories of Mahāyāna Buddhist writings: *sūtra, geya, gāthā, nidāna, itivṛttaka, jātaka, adbhutadharma* (i.e., *abhidharma*), *avadāna, upadeśa, udāna, vaipulya, vyākaraṇa.*

3. *Dharmaparyāya*, the doctrines of the Buddha regarded as doors to or methods for enlightenment.

4. *Hetupratyaya*. The Chinese term *yin-yüan* 因緣 may also be interpreted as *nidāna* which, in this context, would refer to the links or concatenation of causes and effects. As a Buddhist literary genre, *yin-yüan* may be thought of as "happenings in the past." In this sense, it is also translated into Chinese as *yüan-ch'i* 緣起 ("causal origins," that is, "a story showing the origin of something"). *Nidāna* are narratives of happenings in the past which explain the present state of a person or thing. They are one of the nine or twelve kinds of scripture (cf. note 2). The genre with which we shall be mainly concerned in this study is *avadāna*. It may be defined as an exposition of the dharma through allegory or parable (translated into Chinese as *p'i-yü* 譬喻). Hisao Inagaki, comp., *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, pp. 228 and 2.

5. Eons.

6. Tales of the Buddha's former births.

7. This clause may also be interpreted as "which the knowledgeable ought to explain." In either case, the syntax of the sentence as a whole is somewhat fractured and this is reflected in the failure of the *TT* editors to punctuate it rationally.

8. Similes and metaphors; parables.

9. More literally, "meanings."

10. Ho-hsi, literally "West of the [Yellow] River."

11. Ascetic Buddhist monks.

12. The Sung, Yüan, and Ming editions of the text all give Ch'eng-te 成德 , but we must follow the Korean edition here since all four editions agree on Wei-te 威德 as the name of this individual in the short notice from scroll 2 of the *Collected Records* translated just below.

13. *Yu-fang* 游方. This is a Chinese Buddhist technical term (cf. *yu ssu-fang* 游四方 ["wander in the four directions / places in search of knowledge / enlightenment"]).

14. *Mahāvihāra.* This was probably the famous Gomatīmahāvihāra ["Great Monastery Abounding in Herds of Cattle"], one of the greatest institutions of Buddhist learning in all of Central Asia.

15. *Pañca-vārṣika [pariṣad]; pañca[varṣa]-pariṣad; mokṣa-mahāpariṣad.* This was the great quinquennial assembly instituted by Aśoka (d. 238 BCE[?]) for the confession of sins, the inculcation of morality and discipline, and the distribution of charity to the laity who gathered in flocks. See Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme*, pp. 66 and 266, who notes that such assemblies were held by a king for the dispersal of accumulated revenue. The alms-dispensing characteristics of the *pañca-vārṣika pariṣad* are stressed in a Uighur *avadāna* text edited and translated by Müller, "Uigurica III," p. 10. There are over half a dozen different ways to transcribe the term in sinographs. The one given here, *Pan-che yü-se* 般遮于瑟 must be from a Prakrit (**jiu-ṣɒt* > **ušat [*ušar]*). Pelliot, "Neuf notes," p. 258 note 7. The Khotanese equivalent would be *paṃsji-vaṣāri* (note the characteristic final *-i* endings of both components of the expression in contrast to the *-a* endings of the Sanskrit original). See Bailey, "Irano-Indica IV," pp. 930-931

16. Mahāsaṅgha.

17. *Dharmaratna.*

18. Scriptures and discipline.

19. This may also be interpreted as "teaching in accord with *karma*," that is to say, following the doctrine of *upāya* ("skillful means").

20. *Pratyaya* ("proximate causes").

21. "Central Asian" is a rough translational equivalent of the problematic word *hu* 胡 which is discussed below.

22. The three later editions have the variant *hsi* 析 ("analyzed"). In either case, this is a dubious linguistic procedure.

23. *Ching ssu t'ung yi* 精思通譯 . Note that *ching-t'ung* 精通 has become a commonly used expression in modern Chinese meaning "thoroughly versed."

24. Kao-ch'ang 高昌 , just to the east of modern Turfan in eastern Sinkiang.

25. The words "their translations" have been added for clarity.

26. Literally, "the master workman" of a sect who is the founder of its doctrines, i.e., the most prominent monk in the clerical establishment.

27. The karma of religion which leads to Buddhahood.

28. Scriptures dealing with universalism, but the equivalent Chinese term *fang-teng* 方等 here may mean no more than Mahāyāna Buddhist texts (and the methods for communicating their doctrines) in general.

29. This word has been added to the translation.

30. This refers to Nanking which, under another name, was the capital of the Liang dynasty (502-566), during which Seng-yu wrote his catalog.

31. *Chieh-li* 戒力 , the power derived from observing the five commandments (*śila*).

32. At Liang-chou, presumably.

33. I.e., studying under; in attendance upon.

34. This most likely refers to Hui-lang.

35. A male religious novice who has taken vows to obey the precepts.

36. Probably the same year in which Seng-yu originally composed this record. It first circulated independently and was subsequently incorporated in the *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi*.

37. That is, he was 84 years of age by Chinese reckoning (83 by Western reckoning).

38. This means that Hung-tsung was twenty at the time of his ordination. This would have occurred six years after the initial compilation of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish.*

39. *[Mahā]sthavira.*

40. The numbers do not tally. 445 + 70 = 515, but Seng-yu carried out his interview with Hung-tsung in 505. It is possible to propose various emendations (e.g., 七十 [70] →六十 [60]) and ingenious explanations (e.g., T'an-hsüeh and the other monks stayed in Kocho [Kao-ch'ang] for ten years before returning to Liang-chou, Seng-yu rewrote this entry in 515 ten years after his original interview with Hung-tsung, etc.).

41. The name of the monk has been added to the translation.

42. Of the faith.

43. During the fifth century, and for several centuries to come, Chinese texts were still being written in the form of scrolls. After the invention of woodblock printing, books with sewn leaves gradually came into vogue, but the customary designation of "scrolls" for the fascicles of an individual work persisted.

44. A hypothetical Sanskrit reconstruction of this name would be *Dharmaśikṣa. A variant given in some editions is Hui-chüeh 慧覺 (*Prajñābodhi).

45. The Korean edition has Hung-shou 弘守 but all four editions of the preface agree in having 弘宗 .

46. See note 44.

47. The text says Yüan Wei 元魏, Yüan being the sinicized family name of the Tabgatch rulers of the Northern Wei.

48. For the flourishing state of Liang-chou Buddhism during the mid-fourth century, its characteristics, and its close relationship to the learned monkhood in Khotan and northwest India, see Stanley Abe, "Mogao Cave 254," pp. 120-123 and passim. Among the other famous Indian, Central Asian, and Chinese Buddhists who were in Liang-chou around the

time of the compilation of the *SWF* are Tao-t'ai 道泰 (c. 437-439), Buddhavarman (c. 427 or 439), Kumārajīva (c. 385), and the Indo-Scythian Shih-lun (c. 373). The Former Liang 前涼 (317-376), Later Liang 後涼 (386-403), and Northern Liang 北涼 (397-439), which were among the sixteen northern, mostly "barbarian," dynasties that followed the demise of the Western Chin 西晉 (266-316), all had capitals at Liang-chou.

49. In Fa-hsien's account of his journey to India, he describes the scene at the *pañca-vārṣika [pariṣad]* held in Kashgar as one of great magnificence. He states that it took place in the first, second, or third month of the year and usually in spring. The *śramaṇa*s would come from all quarters "as if in clouds". Legge, tr., p. 22; Giles,tr., pp. 7-8.

50. Storch, "Chinese Buddhist Historiography and Orality."

51. To be sure, the *SWF* is not really a "sūtra" in the technical sense because it is a collection of *avadāna* stories. The fact that it carries in its title the designation *ching* ("sūtra") is one indication that it was named by Hui-lang. Yet we should not make too much of this anomaly because the Chinese loosely applied the term *ching* to a wide variety of Buddhist texts which were not really sūtras.

The Tibetan name of the *SWF* is *mZangs-bLun* (also sometimes spelled *'Zangs-bLun*, but this is considered objectionable) which means simply *The Wise and the Foolish.* The Sanskrit title that used to be bandied about, *Damamūka-nidāna sūtra*, was probably made up on the basis of the Tibetan, which was in turn most likely derived from the Chinese. Cf. note 4 for the meaning of *nidāna*. A far more accurate Sanskrit rendering of the title would be *Bhadramūrkha[-avadāna]*.

52. There would appear to be a conflict between Seng-yu's "Record" and his bibliographical notice. The former indicates that the sūtra was translated by the Liang-chou monks in Khotan while the latter states that it was translated in Kocho. Since the prefatory notes at the beginning of each scroll of the sūtra also explicitly state that it was translated in Kocho, at the other end of the Taklamakan desert, one wonders what form the text was in when the Liang-chou monks departed from Khotan for Kocho. This is particularly perplexing because it is almost certain that they would not have had the ability to transcribe stenographically or even to record the gist of the stories in the language(s) in which they were originally orally delivered at Khotan. Hence, the Liang-chou monks must have

subjected the stories to some sort of preliminary or rough translation into Chinese already while they were in Khotan.

Still more baffling is the claim expressed in the bibliographical note that the Liang-chou monks actually "obtained the Central Asian text (*hu-pen*)" of the *SWF* in Khotan. This directly contradicts Seng-yu's "Record" which clearly states that the monks **heard** the stories in Khotan and wrote them down after "splitting" the Central Asian sounds into Chinese meanings. The transformation of the *SWF* into a Chinese text must have begun already in Khotan. Where, then, is there room for consideration of a "Central Asian text," unless (as Tanya Storch has shown) "text" (*pen*) does not always mean a physical, written work? If this be the case, then the "Central Asian text" "obtained" by the Liang-chou monks in Khotan may have existed only in the oral realm.

53. According to a Buddhist tradition which occurs in many different sources, Khotan had been colonized by India since at least the time of Aśoka (reigned c. 265-238 B.C.E. or c. 273-232 B.C.E.). His eldest son, Kuṇāla, was viceroy at Taxila (N.B.; see at notes 60ff.) and should have succeeded to the throne but was blinded because of the machinations of an evil step-mother. Followed by his courtiers, he left India and went to Khotan where he set up a new country. See Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 13. This local dynasty of Indian origin used the title Vijaya as the surname of its rulers. The most recent account of the legend of the founding of Khotan, which surveys earlier scholarship on the subject, is Yamazaki's "Legend." For the history of Khotan and Khotanese Buddhism, see Remusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*; Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, chapter 8 for Tibetan accounts of Khotan; and Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*. On p. 165 of his *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, Stein states that he was struck by the resemblance between Khotanese and Kashmiris. Cf. Jan, "Kashmir's Contribution." See also the papers by Kumamoto and Skjærvø in the "Buddhism across Boundaries" conference volume for discussions of the history of Buddhism in Khotan.

Fa-hsien reached Khotan in the year 400 after a difficult journey from Kucha. He stayed in Khotan for three months. His travel account gives a good idea of how flourishing Buddhism was in Khotan in the period just before the *SWF* was compiled. According to Fa-hsien, there were fourteeen (the Korean edition has "four" which is a more reasonable number) beautifully decorated and richly appointed larger monasteries and a number of smaller ones. All together there were several tens of thousands of Buddhist monks in Khotan. In the Gomatī monastery alone there were 3,000 monks who were held in the greatest reverence by the king. Dignified and splendid Buddhist ceremonies

(especially the procession of images) were sponsored by the king and queen at great expense. Legge, tr., pp. 16-20; Giles, tr., pp. 4-6.

54. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 60; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, vol. 1, pp. 61-63; Tsukamoto, *History*, vol. 1, p. 123.

55. *TT*55(2154).501b20-24. There are several obscure textual variants for the name of the city where this sūtra was written down.

56. Shih, tr., *Biographies des moines éminents*, p. 105.

57. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique*, vol. 1, p. 343; Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 100; Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 61; Zürcher, *Conquest*, vol. 2, pp. 407-408n71.; *Kao-seng chuan (Biographies of Eminent Monks)* 高僧傳 *TT*50(2059).359b17.

58. Cf. Ohta Tatsuo, *Historical Grammar*, pp. 125-126 for other occurrences (this one is not noted) and an analysis of the evolution and function of *na*. Professor Zürcher has informed me that he has found half a dozen occurrences of interrogative, rhetorical *na* in Kumārajīva's corpus which dates from the early part of the fifth century. This phenomenon may also reflect an oral phase or component in the translation process of Kumārajīva's team.

59. Other phonological differences between Sanskrit and Prakrit words and the forms they take in Khotanese have also been detected, especially in the simplification of internal consonant clusters of polysyllabic words, but these are more difficult to measure and demonstrate given the approximate nature of the sinographic transcriptions and the fact that similar simplifications occur within various Indic languages. The *-a* to *-i* shift, in any event, occurs prominently and frequently enough in the *SWF* that there is no need to apply other tests *in extenso*.

60. "[City of] Cut-stone," "Rock of Takṣa," "Residence of Takṣaka [dragon king / *nāgarāja* having a cutting tongue or tongues]," "City of the Takṣa/Takka [people]," etc. Fa-hsien, confusing *-śilā* for *-śiras* (Chinese does not distinguish between *r* and *l*), explained it as meaning "Cut[-off] head[s]" (*chieh-t'ou* 截頭). Colorful *jātaka*-like legends about the Buddha in a former incarnation cutting off his head to save a man grew up to justify this false etymology. On the etymology of the name Taxila, see Dar, *Taxila*, pp. 13-20, 22-25.

It is possible that a settlement existed in the area of Taxila even before the arrival of Indo-Aryan speakers, that the name of the city was an ethnonym (Tāḳ) derived from the original inhabitants, and that it was reconstrued as an Indo-Aryan word after speakers of the latter language became dominant there. This is the explanation offered by Dani, *Taxila*, pp. 2-4, following Alexander Cunningham's analysis and the Persian translational equivalent of the name, Mār-i-kalā ("[hill] fort of the serpent king").

61. These forms are derived from Turner, *Comparative Dictionary*, pp. 319 and 721-722. See also Woodward and Hare (*Concordance*, vol. 2, p. 194b), Childers (*Dictionary*, p. 492b), and Rhys Davids and Stede (*Dictionary*, part I[A], p. 127ab) who all also give the form Taccha- for the first component of the word in Pāli. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, p. 982 and other authorities, however, give Takkasilā (or Takkhasilā) for Pāli. Ratnachandraji (*Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 7b) gives Taccha- for the first component of the word in Ardha-Māgadhī. The Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit form would be Takhaśila [*sic*, ---> -ā] or Takṣaśila [*sic*, ---> -ā]. See Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, pp. 25-26, 75-76, and 87-90. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 177 notes 1-2, gives similar readings. According to Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents*, p. 22, "Feminines, except proper names and words denoting living creatures, are transferred to the *a*-declension. Except for these feminines that survive there is only one declension, the *a*-declension, nouns in *-i, -u, -ṛ*, etc. being adapted to it by the addition of *-a*." Such being the case, it is impossible that Takṣaśilā (a feminine noun) could have become *dək-tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː-çi-liʰ* in the Prakrit of Eastern Central Asia.

According to Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 1 note 1, the "vernacular" form of the name was Takkaśilā or Takhaśilā. The equivalent in Tibetan is *rdo-ḫjog* meaning "cut-stone" which would seem to corroborate the etymological explanation that the name stands for "City of Cut-Stone." F.C. Andreas (cited by Marshall), states that the Aramaic translation of the name of the city was Nāggārūdā (literally "carpentry") which might conceivably also support the "cut-stone" thesis since many words having to do with carpentry in Indian languages are formed from the *takṣ-* etymon.

For the pronunciation of Takṣaśilā in Prakrit, see also below at note 68.

62. These transcriptions have been taken chiefly from Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Hsi-yü ti-ming*, p. 92; Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, pp. 252a and 432b; Akanamu, *Koyū meishi*, pp. 677-678; and Tz'u-yi, *Fo-kuang ta tz'u-tien*, vol. 4, p. 3112a.

63. *TT*4(202).356b8, 362a4, 399b3, 399c9, 400b11, 12, 24, and 440c25. Baruch, "Le cinquante-deuxième chapitre du *mJaṅs-blun*," pp. 348 and 360 restores the Sanskrit of *t'e-ch'a-shih-li* as Tejaḥśrī, but this is problematic on several accounts. In the first place, Tejaḥśrī is the name of a Buddha (see Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 256b under Tejaśiri which is metri causa for Tejaḥśrī), not the name of a place, and hence inappropriate in all of the contexts in which it occurs in the *SWF*. Secondly, the Tibetan and Mongolian equivalents which Baruch cites are confused and contradictory. He states that Tejaḥśrī corresponds to Tibetan *gzi-brjid-kyi dpal*, but that the text gives *bzaṅ-p'oi dpal* = Sanskrit *bhadraśrī*, which the Mongolian reverses as *širi-badir-a (śrībhadra)*. This is curious yet perhaps somewhat telling since Bhadraśilā ("[City of] Wise Stone") was an old alternative name for Takṣaśilā. It would appear that the Tibetan translator was simply not at all clear concerning the identification of the place name *t'e-ch'a-shih-li*. This is evident from the fact that he retranscribes it quite differently upon its separate occurrences in the various stories of his collection. This leads the Mongolian translator up a number of blind alleys as well, with the result that Frye, *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*, renders what was originally the same place name in the Chinese text into Digyaśrī on p. 51, Śridikta on p. 114, and Tikcaśrī on p. 228, imaginative solutions for which, however, there is no authority. Thirdly, the unvoiced quality of the initial consonant of the second syllable militates against a restoration of the Sanskrit as Tejaḥśrī or Tejaśiri whereas it is perfectly well suited to the restoration of one of the Indic forms for the name Taxila. That *t'e-ch'a-shih-li* (or, more precisely, *dək-tʂʰaɨ/tʂʰɛː -ɕi-liʰ*)was a careful and consistent attempt on the part of the Liang-chou monks to render the name of Taxila as they heard it in Khotan in 445 is clear from a consideration of the contents and settings of all the stories in the *SWF* in which it occurs. Cf. Akanuma and Nishio's notes to their modern Japanese translation, pp. 110 and 230.

64. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary*, nos. 5618 and 12459. Hindī and Kumāonī are Indo-Aryan, Central Group. Bihārī is a regional classification which includes Bhojpūrī, Maithilī, and Magahī. All three should be considered to belong to the Eastern Group of I-A (part of Grierson's "Outer Group"), but because of contact with Hindī, have to differing degrees converged with the Central Group languages. Bhojpūrī in particular has been called "sociolinguistically a dialect of Hindī." I am grateful to Franklin Southworth for providing me with this information.

65. This designation refers roughly to the same area as that encompassed by the present Chinese region of Sinkiang. Since this linguistic phenomenon was common to several of

the languages of Central Asia (e.g., Kuchean, Sogdian, Khotanese), it is conceivable that *-i* endings could have been attached to words by speakers of another intermediary language before a given Sanskrit or Prakrit text reached Khotan. The question is both moot and technical, since the results would be identical in any case.

66. Letter of November 19, 1992 (emphasis added).

67. Letter of November 25, 1992.

68. See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, pp. 219-220. For the complicated state of affairs regarding the Prakrits, including Pali, cf. note 61. Some Prakrits incorporate various amounts of Sanskritic elements, e.g., Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Except for the ending, such would seem to be the situation with the form of Takṣaśilā (namely **takṣaśilī*) presumably heard by the Liang-chou monks in Khotan.

69. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies*, p. 38; Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies*, p. 105; and Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, pp. 129-130.

70. In fact, less than half of the eight occurrences of the name Taxila in the *SWF* can be construed as deriving from what would originally have been a locative in an inflected language.

71. Several other case endings, including the instrumental, in Khotanese probably sounded roughly to the Chinese as *-ī* or, to be perhaps somewhat more precise, *-ī* was the closest phonetic transcription available to the Chinese auditors to represent a range of Khotanese endings, some of which were umlauted or diphthongized.

72. The information in this paragraph was provided mainly by Oktor Skjærvø and Hiroshi Kumamoto who are not to be held responsible for my interpration of it. I have also consulted the article on the *Aśokāvadāna* in *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*

Naturally, the place name could have been borrowed into Khotanese in its essentially Indian form and been domesticated by the addition of an appropriate Khotanese ending, in which case we could consider it as essentially a Khotanese word, even though its stem would be Indian rather than Khotanese.

73. Pelliot, "La version ouigoure," p. 227.

74. Matsumoto, "Tonkō-bon *Daiungyō* to *Kengukyō*," who was the first to examine a few of the proper names in the *SWF* with an eye to determining their phonological origins, came to the conclusion that the text had been entirely translated into Khotanese from Sanskrit and that the Liang-chou monks translated the Khotanese into Chinese. Such a conclusion is not justified by the totality of the available evidence.

75. Indeed, three of the four unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts containing stories from the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* include the word *avadāna* in their titles. What is most curious is that one of them is referred to as a *jātakamālāvadānasūtra* and another is referred to as a *jātakāvadānamālā* (Sarkar, *Studies in the Common Jātaka and Avadāna Tales*, p. 39 note 113). These designations fit perfectly with Seng-yu's discussion of the contents of the *SWF*.

76. "Das Datum des *Haribhaṭṭa*."

77. Hahn, "Datum," p. 120.

78. Khoroche, *Monkey*, p. xiii, states that Haribhaṭṭa, in the introduction to his *Jātakamālā*, refers to Ācārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* as his model (both collections consisted of thirty-four stories). Since Haribhaṭṭa dates to the early fifth century, Śūra must date to the fourth century, if not earlier, and thus before the *SWF*.

79. Quoting from his English summary, "In the order of works in the Jātaka section of the Tibetan Tanjur, which is meant to be a chronological one, Haribhaṭṭa is placed after Āryaśūra (this is also confirmed by Haribhaṭṭa's own reference to this poet) but before the Buddhist poet and grammarian Candragomin. According to a previous study of the present writer Candragomin's productive period can be placed between 425 and 475 A.D."

80. For manuscripts of the Old Turkic (Uighur) translation of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā*, see Ehlers, *Alttürkische Handschriften*, Teil 2, pp. 15-24 and Zieme, "Alttürkische buddhistische Texte," p. 137.

81. Müller, "Uigurica III," p. 3.

82. Müller, "Toχrï und Kuišan," p. 583.

83. The *-buda* (i.e., Sanskrit *-buddha-*[?]) of the title is certainly an error for *-patha-*, with voicing of the two consonants.

84. Müller renders this as Kushan, the language of the area around Gandhāra or the Kabul Valley, hence some form of Prakrit, but most authorities (see note 87) now hold that the colophon is here referring to Kuchean. There are, however, several difficulties in the identification of *kuišan* (*küšän*) as Kuchean. The first is the fact that the phonological representation in Uighur would seem to favor Kushan over Kuchean, although the great Uighur lexicographer Maḥmūd el-Kāşġarī (eleventh century) transcribed the name for Kucha as Küsän. See Dankoff and Kelly, *Compendium*, vol. 1, p. 308(§204N). Kāşġarī's dictionary was written between about 1072 and 1077 (Dankoff and Kelly, *Compendium*, vol. 1, p. 7). Secondly, Tocharian and Kuchean would, at best, merely refer to two variants of the same language; one doubts that the distinction between Tocharian B and Tocharian A (a dead liturgical language at the time for which it can be documented [N.B.]) was sufficiently great that a translation would have had to be made from one to the other. Thirdly, Kuchean is unlikely to have been the first link in a chain that ultimately probably began with an Indian (Kushan [?], i.e., Prakrit) original. In light of these difficulties, we should not jump too hastily to the conclusion that *kuišan* (*küšän*) in this instance necessarily equals Kuchean instead of Kushan as Müller thought, in spite of the fact that there is strong evidence for the existence of a Kuchean *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* (see note 90).

85. I.e., Uighur.

86. This has been mistakenly identified in Bullitt, "Princeton's Manuscript Fragments," pp. 14 and 18 (fig. 7) as a part of the *Vajracchedikā (Diamond) Sūtra.*

87. Henning, "The Name of the 'Tokharian' Language," p. 160 and note 2 on that page, holds that *ᵓwkw Kwysᵓn* (Ökü Küsän) refers to Kuchean and that the chain of translations was thus from Kuchean into IA (*Twγry* / "Tocharian") and from IA into Turkish (i.e., Uighur). Yoshida, "Buddhist Literature in Sogdian," pp. 2-3 and 9 describes the Sogdian fragment of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* as preserving the story about King Kāñcanasāra and as also having presumably been translated from Kuchean. He refers (p. 9) as well to another fragment consisting of an unidentified story concerning two brothers

of different qualities that may have come from such an *Avadānamālā*. See Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie Fragment'i*, pp. 62-63 and compare stories 42 and 44 in *SWF*.

88. As preserved in the Uighur and Sogdian fragments.

89. It is significant that Indian collections of *jātaka*s and *avadāna*s were often organized into groups of ten and multiples of ten. See Khoroche, *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey*, p. 12.

90. See Lévi, "Le sūtra du sage et du fou," 316-317. The fact that there must have been an established Indian source-text or source-texts circulating in Central Asia for the types of stories that were incorporated into the *SWF* is further born out by the close parallels between the Chinese recounting of the legend of King Prabhāsa and that preserved in the Kuchean (Tocharian B) fragments. The *SWF* (*TT*202, no. 21) and the Kuchean (Tocharian) fragments of the King Prabhāsa story represent a later stage of development of the narrative, earlier versions having appeared in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (no. 53). Lévi, "Le sūtra du sage et du fou," 305ff. and Schlingloff, "König Prabhāsa und der Elefant."

A wall-painting of the *Mahāprabhāsa avadāna* from the Knight's Cave in the village of Kirish, about 25 miles east-northeast of Kucha, consists of two beautifully painted series of pictures in strip form on lateral walls. Tocharian captions running along the top and bottom borders of the pictures mention the recitation of the story. This is *prima facie* evidence for the existence of both oral and written versions of the story in Tocharian at the time of the construction of the cave (seventh century). The popularity of *avadāna* literature in Tocharian-speaking areas is borne out by the recurrence of the same scenes at Kizil in the Middle Cave of the Second Gorge, also dating to the seventh century. See *Along the Ancient Silk Routes*, pp. 105-106 (cat. no. 37) and p. 104 (cat. no. 36).

91. The Sogdian text was mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph. For the Uighur version, see Müller, pp. 27ff. and p. 91.

92. Written *avadāna* certainly did exist in Khotanese from a later period. There are as many as seven extant manuscripts for the introductory portions of the *Sudhanāvadāna* and three for the main body of the story. See Emmerick, *Guide*, 18.20 (pp. 30-31) and Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, nos. 7-12 (pp. 11-39) and "The Sudhana Poem." The Khotanese story of Sudhana and Manoharā corresponds to *Divyāvadāna*, ch. 30 (ed.

Cowell and Neil), pp. 435-461 and *Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, pp. 94-115 (ed. É. Senart); also no. 5 in Anton Schiefner's translation of Tibetan tales. We have already encountered above the Khotanese *Aśoka-avadāna* (telling of Aśoka and Yaśas and of Aśoka and Kuṇāla). See Emmerick, *Guide*, 18.4 (p. 20); Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, nos. 13-14 (pp. 40-44); Skjærvø, "The Legend of Aśoka." It corresponds to *Divyāvadāna*, ch. 27

93. Bailey, "Kāñcanasāra." Whether or not Jñānayaśas in particular is earlier or later than the Khotanese *Jātaka-stava*, it is apparent from the study of its language that the Khotanese tale was based on a Middle Indic original.

94. "Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool in Tibetan and Chinese."

95. These types of objections have previously been raised by Matsumoto, pp. 219-220, Tsumaki, pp. 356-357, and Takahashi, pp. 48-49.

96. The following observations by Baruch ("Le cinquante-deuxième chapitre du *mJaṅs-blun*," p. 344) are instructive in this regard: "En comparant les dispositions en sections et chapitres des différentes éditions chinoises connues, entre elles d'une part et avec celles de la traduction tibétaine de l'autre, on constate, aussi bien pour le chinois que pour le tibétain, qu'il y avait à l'origine un même prototype qui ne nous est pas parvenu."

97. Except for the Peking edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, the colophons to the *SWF* in all of the other editions (the Derge, the Narthang, and the Choni) all state expressly that the Tibetan text was translated from Chinese: *rgya-nag-las 'gyur-ba(r) snaṅ-ño*. Baruch, "Le cinquante-deuxième chapitre du *mJaṅs-blun*," p. 343 note 3 and Laufer, "Loan-words in Tibetan," p. 415 note 2.

98. For example, neither the Uighur nor the Khotanese versions of the Kāñcanasāra story (no. 1 in the *SWF*) repeat the erroneous *-pa-* syllable of the Chinese transcription of the name, although the Tibetan (which is, for the most part, based on the Chinese) does.

99. The overlap of the *SWF* with various other collections of Indian and Chinese *jātaka* and *avadāna* is unmistakable from the lists on pp. 67-71 of the supplementary volume of Hikata Ryūshō's *Honshōkyō rui no shisōshi-teki kenkyū*.

100. Except for those few monks who actually made pilgrimages to India and studied Sanskrit there, knowledge of Indian languages among Chinese Buddhists at best usually amounted to no more than a few memorized *dhāraṇīs* (in sinographic transcription) and some familiarity with the Siddham script. See van Gulik, *Siddham*.

101. Most of the earliest manuscripts of the *SWF*, those from Tun-huang, already include these formulaic expressions. Fragments of the *SWF* among the Tun-huang manuscripts include (but are not limited to) the following: Pelliot 2105, 2316, 3312, Stein 1102, 2879, 3693, 4464, 4468, Peking 8597-8603, St. Petersburg 1715, Tun-huang Research Institute 57, 167, 257, 275. The original numbering of the Peking manuscripts are *tung* 32, *shih* 82, *lai* 41, *ch'eng* 95, *ch'ien* 87, *jen* 11, *wen* 53 (2032, 7182, 1541, 5195, 6787, 7511, 7953 respectively in the system of Mair, "Inventory").

102. *Nissāya* (gerund from *nissayati*, "to depend on, belonging to") are mixed Pāli/vernacular texts in the style of Pāli commentaries. Although the commentary is in the vernacular, there is extensive use of Pāli as the text on which the interpretation is based.

103. *Vohāra* ("practice, custom, vernacular"), as in *voharam gacchati* ("to be in common use") has a much looser connection with the commentary form. Some Pāli occurs, although most of the text is in the vernacular. The Pāli in these texts tends to be very corrupted. Many popular texts in northern Thailand are of this type, as are many desana ("preaching") texts. This note and the previous one are based on a letter of February 20, 1993 from Donald Swearer.

104. I am grateful to Donald Swearer and Ajan Sommai Prenchit for providing me with this valuable information.

105. "Khotan," pp. 5.

106. *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 8. Compare the remarks of Aurel Stein made nearly a century ago shortly after the discovery of Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit in Central Asia:

> The necessarily brief notes presented will suffice to show that these Kharoshthi documents are bound to bring back to light many aspects of life and culture in an early period of Central-Asian history which seemed almost entirely lost from our field of vision. The very nature of the contents and

> the complete absence of similar records of ancient date in India itself will render their full elucidation a slow and laborious task. But whatever revelations of interesting detail may be in store for us, one important historical fact already stands out clearly. The use of an Indian language in the vast majority of the documents, when considered together with their secular character, strikingly confirms the old local tradition recorded by Hiuen-Tsiang [i.e., Hsüan-tsang, the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim to India] and also in old Tibetan texts, but hitherto scarcely credited, that the territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised about two centuries before our era by Indian immigrants from Takshasila, the Taxila of the Greeks, in the extreme North-West of the Punjab. It is certainly a significant fact that within India the Kharoshthi script used in our tablets was peculiar to the region of which Taxila was the historical centre. Neither the language nor the script presented by our documents can satisfactorily be accounted for by the spread of Buddhism alone, seeing that the latter, so far as our available evidence goes, brought to Central Asia only the use of Sanskrit as the ecclesiastical language, and the writing in Brahmi characters.

Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan, p. 383. For Kharoṣṭhī as the lingua franca of administration in Central Asia during the centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era, see Mair, "Reflections on the Origins of the Modern Standard Mandarin Place-Name 'Dunhuang,'" pp. 901, 912-922 (esp. 918-920), 927-928. For Prakrit as the language of Buddhism in Central Asia, see Bernhard, "Gāndhārī and the Buddhist Mission in Central Asia," especially p. 57. The extent of the usage of Prakrit in the Buddhist establishment at Khotan can be measured by the information provided by the Tibetan Annals of Khotan that there were 16 *vihāra*s of the Mahāsāṅghikā school there who wrote in Prakrit. See Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas*, pp. 51-52. Also see Bailey, "The Culture of the Iranian Kingdom of Ancient Khotan," p. 25 for the familiarity of the Khotanese with Indian Buddhist literature.

107. "Church Language and Vernacular Language." This thesis was first adumbrated by de Jong in his *Buddha's Word in China*, p. 11.

108. According to the Tibetan *Annals of Khotan (Li-yul-gyi Lo-rgyus-pa)*, "The religion and the sacred (*clerical*) language are very similar to those of India." *Bstan-hgyur*, vol. 94(u), fol. 429b, translated by Rockhill, p. 236.

109. Seishi Karashima has recently completed close textual studies of the Chinese versions of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and the *Dīrghāgama* which show that they were based on an underlying Prakrit that was very similar to Gāndhārī.

APPENDIX[1]

Sudatta[2] Raises a Monastery[3]

Thus have I heard.[4] Once the Buddha was staying[5] in the Bamboo Grove[6] at Rājagṛha. At that time, the king of Śrāvastī, Prasenajit, had a great minister named Sudatta. He lived in a family of enormous wealth and his treasures were limitless. He was fond of bestowing alms, liberally assisting the poor, the orphaned, and the elderly. Because of his actions, the people of the time styled him "Giver to Orphans and Widows."

At that time, the elder[7] had begot seven sons. When each of them grew up, he chose a wife for them, one after the other up to the sixth son. His seventh son was extraordinarily handsome.[8] Sudatta was partial to this son and doted on him. When it was time to choose a wife for him, Sudatta wished to find a girl of extreme beauty and exquisite appearance. Seeking such a girl for his son, he spoke to some brahmans, saying, "Whoever has a good daughter whose features are complete, you should go in search of her for my son. Whereupon the brahmans went looking, wending their way hither and thither making their begging rounds, until they came to Rājagṛha.

In Rājagṛha there was a great minister named Humi[9] whose riches were immeasurable and who believed in and respected the Three Jewels.[10] The brahmans came to his home and engaged in begging. According to the laws of the country, when dispensing alms to others, one must order a young girl to take the objects and present them. The elder Humi had a daughter whose majestic countenance was exquisite and who was of marvelous appearance. She brought out the food and presented it to the brahmans. When the brahmans saw her, there was great joy in their hearts. "Today we have seen the one whom we are looking for." Right away, they asked the girl, "Have there been quite a few people come to seek you?"

"No," she replied.

"Is your father at home?" they asked the girl.

"Yes," said the girl.

"Ask him to come outside," said the brahmans. "We wish to meet him and have a conversation with him.

The girl went inside and reported to her father, saying, "There are some beggars outside who wish to meet you." Whereupon the father went outside.

The brahmans inquired how things were with him and whether he were peaceful and well. "The king of Śrāvastī has a great minister whose name is Sudatta. Do you recognize him?"

"I have not met him," he answered, "but have only heard his name."

"Did you know," they replied, "that this man is the wealthiest and most honored person in Śrāvastī and you are the wealthiest and most honored person here? Sudatta has a son who is marvelously handsome and has many outstanding traits. He wishes to seek your daughter. Would that be acceptable or not?"

"It would," answered the father.

Just then there was a trader who wished to go to Śrāvastī. The brahmans wrote a letter and sent it with him to Sudatta. It laid out the whole matter. Sudatta was happy. He went to the king and sought a leave of absence so that he could pick a wife for his son. The king assented forthwith. With a great load of precious treasure, he hastened to Śrāvastī. Along the stages of his way, he liberally assisted the poor.

When he arrived at Śrāvastī, he went to Humi's house and sought a wife for his son. The elder Humi welcomed him happily. He spread out mattresses and had Sudatta spend the evening in his lodgings. The family bustled about preparing food and drink. Sudatta thought, "Now this elder is making a great display of devotional implements. What level of person does he wish to entertain?[11] Is it because he will invite the king of the country, the crown prince, a great minister, an elder, a layman,[12] or relations by marriage that he is making ready such a great feast?" Reflecting on the reason for this, he could not understand it. So he asked him, "Sir, this evening you are yourself undertaking the labor of managing this affair of laying out devotional utensils. Is it because you wish to invite the king, the crown prince, or a great minister?"

"No," he answered.

"Do you wish to hold a meeting for relations by marriage?"

"No," he answered.

"What are you going to do?"

"I am going to invite the Buddha and the community of monks,"[13] answered Humi.

At the moment when Sudatta heard the names of the Buddha and his community, his hair suddenly stood on end as though he had achieved something and his feelings were cheerful.

Again he asked, "What does the name 'Buddha' mean? I wish that you would explain its meaning."

The elder replied, "Haven't you heard? On the day when Siddhārtha, son of King Śuddhodana,[14] was born, heaven sent down thirty-two[15] auspicious responses and a myiad spirits attended him. He immediately took seven steps, raised his hand, and said, 'In heaven above and below, I alone am most venerable.'[16] His body was of a golden

color and was possessed of thirty-two distinguishing features and eighty[17] excellencies. He corresponded to a king of the golden wheel[18] and controlled the four quarters under heaven. When he saw old age, sickness, death, and suffering, he was unhappy to remain at home. So he left home[19] to cultivate the Way.

"For six years he performed austerities and obtained all wisdom. In the end, he succeeded in becoming a Buddha, defeating the host of demons[20] who numbered eighteen[21] million[22] myriads. His title was 'Capable in Humaneness.'[23] He had ten strengths[24] and was fearless.[25] With eighteen distinctions,[26] his light shown resplendently. His three insights[27] were a far-seeing mirror. Therefore he was styled 'Buddha'."

Sudatta asked, "What does the name *saṅgha* ['community of monks'] mean?"

Humi answered, "After the Buddha had achieved the Way, Brahmadeva[28] urged and invited him to turn[29] the wheel of the marvelous law.[30] He went to Vārāṇasī[31] and, there in the Deer Park,[32] he preached the four noble truths[33] for Kauṇḍinya[34] and four others. They stemmed the flow of their passions,[35] untied the bonds of intellection, and thereupon became śramaṇas.[36] The six supernatural abilities[37] were all complete; the four intentionalities,[38] the seven characteristics of awareness,[39] and the eight-fold path[40] were all refined. Above in empty space,[41] the eighty thousand devas[42] attained the stream of holy living.[43] Unlimited[44] devas and men[45] expressed the unexcelled,[46] true sentiments of the Way.[47] Next he saved the Kāśyapa brothers of Uruvilvā,[48] a thousand individuals. They stemmed the flow of their passions and untied intellection[49] like Kauṇḍinya[50] and the four others. Next he saved Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana together with a host of five hundred disciples who also attained arhatship.[51] All such as these had supernatural ability[52] and were self-existent.[53] They were fields of blessedness[54] who could serve as good protection for all living beings.[55] Therefore they are named *saṅgha*."

When Sudatta heard such marvelous things as this, he jumped with joy. Moved to reflect, he was faithful and respectful. Desirous of complete knowledge, he forthwith wanted to go see the Buddha. His sincerity was rewarded with a supernatural response; he saw that the land was bright and he set off at once in search of the brightness. The city gates of Rājagṛha opened three times during the night: early night, midnight, and late night. These were called "the three times." At midnight, he went out of the gates. When he saw a brahmanical temple, right away he did obeisance[56] to it. No sooner did he forget to reflect upon the Buddha than his heart returned of itself to darkness. Whereupon he reflected to himself, "Tonight it is particularly dark. If I go there, I may be harmed by evil ghosts and vicious beasts. I had better reenter the city and wait until dawn before leaving."

At the time, there was a friend whose life had come to an end and who had been reborn in the heaven of the four deva-kings.[57] When he saw that Sudatta was on the verge of despair, he went down and spoke to him. "Layman, do not despair! If you go to see the Buddha, you will receive unlimited benefit. Indeed, even if today you were to receive a hundred carts of precious treasures, it would be better to turn one step toward the World Honored.[58] The amount of the benefit which you receive would exceed that. Laymen, you should go and not despair! Indeed, even if today you were to receive a hundred[59] elephant loads of precious treasures, it would be better to lift your foot and take one step toward the World Honored. The benefit you receive would be greater than that. Layman, you should go and not despair! Indeed, even if today you were to receive a continent[60] full of precious treasures, it would be better to turn one step and journey to the place of the World Honored. The benefit which you receive would be enormous. Layman, you should go and not despair! Indeed, even if today you were to receive all four continents under heaven full of precious treasures, it would be better to lift your foot and take one step toward the place of the World Honored. The brimming benefit which you receive would exceed that by a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand times."

When Sudatta heard the deva speak such words, his joy increased all the more. Respectfully, he reflected upon the World Honored and the darkness immediately returned to brightness. Following along the road he went on his way until he arrived at the place of the World Honored. At that time, the World Honored knew that Sudatta was coming, so he went outside to walk about while meditating.[61]

At this time, Sudatta saw the World Honored in the distance like a golden mountain.[62] Of benign form and awesome countenance, he was ten thousand times more majestic and brilliant than what Humi had said. Observing him, Sudatta was happy at heart. Not knowing the ceremonial rules, he straightforwardly asked the World Honored, "Hi,[63] Gautama! [64] How are you?"

The World Honored right away ordered him to take a seat. At that moment, Śuddha-āvāsa[65] saw in the distance that, although Sudatta was observing the World Honored, he did not know the rules for ceremonial obeisance and offerings.[66] He transformed himself into four people who came in a line to the place of the World Honored. They touched the feet of the Buddha and did obeisance to him. They knelt with bodies erect[67] and inquired about his rising and resting and whether he was well. They made three circuits with their right shoulders towards him[68] and then withdrew to stay on one side. When Sudatta saw how they behaved, he was startled and reflected to himself, "This is how things should be according to the rules for worship." So he immediately got up and left his seat. Like them, he ceremoniously showed his respect and inquired about the

Buddha's rising and resting. He made three circuits with his right shoulder towards the Buddha and then withdrew to stay on one side.

At that time, the World Honored was just then discoursing on the dharma, on the subtle wonders of the four noble truths,[69] and on suffering,[70] emptiness,[71] and impermanence.[72] When Sudatta heard the dharma, he was happy. Affected by the sacred dharma, he attained the stream of holy living.[73] It was like a pure white folded cloth easily being dyed[74] by a color. Kneeling with his body erect and his palms joined,[75] he asked the World Honored, "In Śrāvastī, is there anyone else who was so easily affected by hearing the dharma as I was?"

The Buddha told Sudatta, "There is no one else like you. In the city of Śrāvastī, most of the people believe in heresy[76] and it is hard to affect them with the sacred teaching."

Sudatta addressed the Buddha, "I only wish, Tathāgata, that you would humble yourself by letting your spirit descend and approach Śrāvastī on foot, causing the living beings in the city to get rid of heresy and to accept what is correct."

The Buddha told Sudatta, "There is a difference between the rules for those who leave the home and for the laity. There should be a distinction between their dwelling places. In Śrāvastī, there are no monasteries.[77] How could I go there?"

"Your disciple can raise one," said Sudatta to the Buddha, "and I wish that I would be permitted to do so."

The World Honored silently assented. Sudatta wished to[78] take leave and go away to choose a wife for his son. So at last he had to take leave of the Buddha and return home. Consequently, he addressed the Buddha, saying, "When I return to my own country, I ought to erect a monastery, but I do not know the method for modeling[79] it. I only wish, World Honored, that you would send a disciple to go along with me to decree what I should do."

The World Honored considered that, in the city of Śrāvastī, the host of Brahmans believed in heresy and inverted views. If others went, they certainly would not be able to manage. Only Śāriputra, who was of Brahman stock and intelligent from the time he was young, and whose supernatural abilities were all complete, would certainly be of assistance if he were to go. Thereupon he immediately commanded him to go along with Sudatta.

"If the Buddha travels by foot," asked Sudatta, "how many tricents[80] can he go per day?"

"Half a *yojana*[81] per day," said Śāriputra. "If he uses the method of traveling by foot like a wheel-turning[82] king, it is also the same with the World Honored."

At this time, Sudatta immediately had guest houses made at stages every twenty tricents along the way. Computing how much it would cost to do the work, he spent money to hire innkeepers and installed his representatives. He ordered that food, drink, and clothing[83] would all be sufficient. From Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī, coming back together with Śāriputra to his residence, he investigated all the sites to find[84] which had land that was level and broad so that he might raise a monastery upon it. After he had investigated all around, there was no place that suited his fancy except for a park owned by Crown Prince Jeta.[85] Its land was flat, its trees had dense foliage. The park was neither too far nor too close but at just the right place.

Śāriputra told Sudatta, "Now, it is suitable to raise a monastery in this park. If you made it farther away, it would be difficult to beg for food; a closer place would be too noisy and a hindrance to the practice of the Way."

Sudatta was pleased. He went to where the Crown Prince was and said to him, "Now, I should like to raise a monastery for the Tathāgata and your park is the best site. I'd like to buy it today."

The Crown Prince laughed and said, "There's nothing which I lack. This park is luxuriant; I ought to use it to play in carefreely so that my spirits will be relieved."

Sudatta was persistent and went back again and again. Greedy, the Crown Prince doubled the price he was asking, thinking that if the price was expensive Sudatta shouldn't be able to buy it. So he said to Sudatta, "If you can spread the ground with gold, ensuring that no space be left empty, then I shall be obliged to give it to you."

"All right!" said Sudatta, agreeing to his price.

"I was jesting," said Crown Prince Jeta.

"According to the rules for being a Crown Prince," Sudatta informed him, "you shouldn't speak recklessly. Reckless speech is deception. How could someone who engages in it succeed to the throne[86] and care for the people?" Immediately, he wished to bring a lawsuit against the Crown Prince.

At that moment, because he felt that a monastery ought to be raised for the Buddha and fearful that the great ministers would be partial to the Crown Prince, Śuddha-āvāsa[87] transformed himself into a man who went down as an arbiter and spoke to the Crown Prince, saying, "According to the rules for a Crown Prince, you shouldn't speak recklessly. If you have already accepted a price that has been agreed upon, it is not appropriate to back out midway through the deal."[88] Whereupon he determined that the park should be given to Sudatta.

Sudatta rejoiced, then ordered his representatives to bring out gold borne on the backs of elephants. In an instant, eighty hectares[89] were almost covered except for a small piece of land.

Sudatta thought, "Where do I have enough gold stored that it will be neither too little nor too much? I ought to take out enough to cover the ground."

If you object that it is too expensive, you can put the deal aside," suggested Jeta.

"No!" was the answer. Then Sudatta reflected to himself, "Which of my gold stores will be enough? I ought to cover up the parts that are missing."

Jeta reflected to himself that the Buddha must be of great virtue[90] to cause this man to look so lightly upon his treasure. So he instructed him to stop with this as complete. "Don't bring out any more gold. The park grounds belong to you and the trees belong to me. I'll donate them to the Buddha myself and build the monastery together with you."

Sudatta rejoiced and immediately approved of this arrangement. He returned home at once and forthwith began the work. When the six heterodox masters[91] heard of this, they went to inform the king of the country, "The elder Sudatta has bought Jetavana[92] and he wants to erect a monastery for the śramaṇa[93] Gautama. Let our followers have a contest of skills with him. If the śramaṇa wins, let them build it. If he's not our equal, don't let him raise it. Gautama's followers live in Rājagṛha; our followers ought to live here."

The king summoned Sudatta and asked him, "Now, the six masters said that you have bought Jetavana and want to erect a monastery for the śramaṇa Gautama. They have requested a contest of abilities with the disciples of the śramaṇa. If the latter win, they can build the monastery. But if they're not equal to the disciples of the six masters,[94] then they can't raise it."

Sudatta returned home and put on filthy, greasy clothing. He was vexed and unhappy. When the next day arrived, Śāriputra came to Sudatta's house wearing a monk's robe and carrying a begging bowl.[95] As soon as he saw that Sudatta was unhappy, he asked him, "Why are you unhappy?"

"I am afraid that we will not be able to finish the monastery that we wanted to build," answered Sudatta. "That's why I'm sad."

"What's the reason you fear that it won't be completed?" asked Śāriputra.

"Now, the six masters have called upon the king and requested a competition," answered Sudatta. "If the honored one wins, he will let us build the monastery. But if the honored one is not equal to them, in that case he won't let us raise it. These six masters have left their secular homes[96] for quite a long time. Their refined essence truly has an

inherent basis. Nobody can match the techniques and skills that they have learned. Now I don't know if the honored one's arts can compete with their's or not."

"Even if this bunch of six masters and their hosts filled up all of the southern continent[97] and were as numerous as bamboos in a grove," said Śāriputra, "they wouldn't be able to move a single hair upon my leg. What will it avail them if they want to contest with me? Let them indulge themselves as they please."

Sudatta rejoiced. He shampooed and bathed in hot, scented water and changed into new clothes.[98] Then he set out at once to inform the king, "I have already asked Śāriputra.[99] If the six masters wish to compete, let them follow their inclinations."

The king then told the six masters, "Now I shall allow you to compete with the śramaṇa." Then the six masters announced to the people of the country that, after seven days, they would have a competition with the śramaṇa at a broad place outside of the city. In the city of Śrāvastī there were 1,800,000[100] people. According to the laws of the country at that time, a drum was beaten to assemble the masses. If a bronze drum was beaten, 80,000 people would gather. If a silver drum was struck, 1,400,000 people would gather. If a golden drum was beaten, everyone would gather.

After the period of seven days was up, they went to a broad, flat place. A golden drum was struck and everyone gathered. There were 300,000 people among the followers of the six masters. Then the people set up high seats for the king and the six masters. At that time, Sudatta got ready a high seat for Śāriputra. Just then, Śāriputra had quietly entered *samādhi*[101] beneath a tree. All of his sense organs[102] were stilled and he wandered in the various stages of meditative absorption. Having penetrated to the state of being without hindrance,[103] he reflected thus, "The great crown of this assembly has been practicing heterodoxy for a long time. They are arrogant, have a high estimation of themselves, and are as prolific as grasses and weeds. What virtue should I use to cause them to submit?"

After thinking thus, he concluded that he should use two virtues.[104] Thereupon, he immediately made this vow: "If I have been filial to my parents and have respected śramaṇas and brahmans through countless kalpas,[105] when I first enter the assembly all of the great crowd should do obeisance to me."

At that time, the six masters saw that the crowd had already assembled but only Śāriputra had not arrived. Thereupon they informed the king, "Gautama's disciple himself knows that he has no skills. He has falsely requested a contest of abilities with us. The assembly has already gathered, but he is frightened and will not come."

"The time for your master's disciple to compete has already arrived," declared the king to Sudatta. "It's fitting that he should come and debate."

Then Sudatta went to Śāriputra's place and, kneeling before him with body erect, said, "Greatly honored![106] The great crowd has already gathered. I wish that you would come to visit the assembly."

At this moment, Śāriputra awoke from his meditative state and rearranged his clothing. Carrying his cushion[107] on his left shoulder, with slow and deliberate steps like a lion king,[108] he went up to the great crowd. When the crowd of people saw his distinctive demeanor and dharma-robe, they suddenly stood up together with the six masters like grasses being blown by the wind and unconsciously did obeisance to him. Then Śāriputra mounted the high seat which Sudatta had gotten ready for him.

Among the crowd of the six masters, there was one disciple named Raudrākṣa who had excellent knowledge of illusionary skills. With an incantation, he created before the great crowd a tree that naturally grew big. Its shade covered the crowded assembly. Its leaves and branches made a dense foliage, its blossoms and fruits were singularly distinctive. The crowd of people all said, "This transformation was made by Raudrākṣa!"

The, with his supernatural power, Śāriputra created a whirlwind of misty vapors which blew upon the tree and uprooted it so that it fell upon the ground and crashed into tiny pieces of dust. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Now Raudrākṣa's not his equal."

Once again, with an incantation, Raudrākṣa created a pond. The pond was adorned on all four sides with the seven treasures.[109] Various kinds of flowers were growing in the pond. The crowd all said, "This was made by Raudrākṣa!"

Then, through transformation,[110] Śāriputra created a great six-tusked white elephant.[111] On each of its tusks there were seven lotus flowers and on each of the flowers there were seven jade girls. Slowly and deliberately, it went up to the side of the pond and sucked up all of the water into its mouth. Immediately, the pond disappeared. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's not his equal."

Again, Raudrākṣa made a mountain adorned with the seven treasures.[112] It had springs, ponds, and trees with luxuriant blossoms and fruits. The crowd of people all said, "This was made by Raudrākṣa!"

Then Śāriputra right away created an adamantine strongman[113] with an adamantine mace. He used it to point at the mountain from a distance and the mountain was immediately demolished without any trace. The crowded assembly all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's not his equal."

Again, Raudrākṣa made a dragon[114] which had ten heads. It rained down different kinds of treasures from space. Thunder and lightning shook the earth and startled the great crowd. The crowd of people all said, "This too was made by Raudrākṣa!"

Then Śāriputra, through transformation, created a golden winged bird king[115] which tore the dragon apart and chewed it up. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's not his equal."

Again, Raudrākṣa made a buffalo with a tall, large body that was stout and very powerful. Its coarse hoofs and sharp horns scraped at the ground. Bellowing loudly, it came rushing forward. Then, through transformation, Śāriputra created a lion king[116] who tore the buffalo apart and ate it. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's not his equal."

Again, Raudrākṣa transformed his body into a demon[117] with a huge physique. Flames burned from the top of its head and its eyes were as red as blood. It had four fangs that were long and sharp; fire issued from its mouth. The demon dashed forward with leaps and bounds. Then Śāriputra transformed his body into Vaiśravaṇarāja.[118] The demon was terrified and wanted to run away immediately. Fire arose on all four sides and there was no place to escape. Only on Śāriputra's side it was cool and there was no fire. The demon submitted at once and threw all five points of its body[119] to the ground. It begged for mercy that its life might be spared. As soon as it experienced a sense of shame, the fire was immediately extinguished. The crowd all sang out, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's not his equal."

Then Śāriputra's body rose up into space and manifested the four awesome demeanors in walking, standing, sitting, and lying. Water issued from the top of his body and fire issued from the bottom of his body. He sank down in the east and jumped up in the west. He sank down in the west and jumped up in the east. He sank down in the north and jumped up in the south. He sank down in the north and jumped up in the south.

One moment he manifested his great body so that it filled up all of space. And again he manifested his small body. The next moment he divided his body into hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, and hundreds of thousands of bodies, and combined them back into one body. He would be in space, then suddenly he'd be on the ground. He walked on the ground as though it were water; he walked on water as though it were the ground.

After these transformations were finished, he retracted his supernatural abilities[120] and sat on his original seat.

When the great crowd in the assembly had seen his supernatural power, they all felt joyful. Then Śāriputra immediately began to discourse on the dharma. Depending upon their own actions and fortunate karmic affinities from the past, they attained the traces of the Way. Some attained the stream of holy living,[121] single rebirth,[122] nonreturning,[123] or arhatship.[124] The 300,000 disciples who were the followers of the six masters left

home[125] to learn the Way where Śāriputra was. They had finished with contests of techniques.

Then the fourfold assembly[126] was over and everyone returned to their own residences. The elder, Sudatta, went with Śāriputra to design the monastery. Sudatta himself grasped one end of the string and Śāriputra himself grasped the other end. Together they measured the monastery. Then Śāriputra smiled happily. Sudatta asked him, "Honored one, why are you smiling?"

When you started measuring this land, the halls were already completed in the six heavens of desire."[127]

Relying on his Way-eyes,[128] Sudatta saw all the imposing, neat halls in the six heavens of desire. He asked Śāriputra, "In the six heavens of desire, which place is the happiest?"

"In the lower three heavens," said Śāriputra, "the sexual desires are deepest. In the upper two heavens, there is arrogance and self-indulgence. In the fourth heaven, there are few desires and an awareness of sufficiency. Bodhisattvas who in one lifetime accomplish the three stages for final entry to Buddhahood[129] are continuously coming to be born in it. Instruction in the dharma is ceaselessly given."

"It is fitting[130] that I should be born in the fourth heaven," said Sudatta. No sooner had he uttered these words than all the rest of the halls disappeared. Only the halls of the fourth heaven quietly remained. Then, when they applied themselves to the measuring string again, Śāriputra had a sad and troubled look. Sudatta immediately asked, "Honored one, why are you troubled?"

"Now, have you seen the ant in this place or not?"

"I've seen it," said Sudatta.

Then Śāriputra said to Sudatta, "In the past, during the time of Vipaśyin[131] Buddha, you also raised a monastery in this place for that World Honored and this ant was living here. During the time of Śikhin[132] Buddha, you also constructed a monastery for that Buddha in this place and this ant was also living here. During the time of Viśvabhū[133] Buddha, you also raised a monastery for the World Honored on this land and this ant was also living here. During the time of Krakucchanda[134] Buddha, you also raised a monastery for the World Honored on this land and this ant was also living here. During the time of Kanakamuni[135] Buddha, you also raised a monastery for the World Honored on this land and this ant was also living here. During the time of Kāśyapa[136] Buddha, you also raised a monastery for the Buddha on the land and this ant was also living here. Up until today, through 91 kalpas,[137] it kept receiving the same body and did not attain

release.[138] The cycle of death and rebirth[139] is long -- only blessings[140] are essential. One must plant their seeds."

Sudatta was saddened with sympathy and felt pangs of commiseration.[141] After they had finished measuring the land, they raised the monastery. They made a grotto for the Buddha. They made fragrant paste out of sandalwood.[142] There were 1,200 additional rooms.[143] Altogether there were 120 sites where special bells[144] were struck.

After the donation was finished, Sudatta wished to go invite the Buddha, but he thought to himself, "Above me is the king of the country. I should let him know. If I do not inform him, perhaps he might get angry.[145] So he immediately went and addressed the king, "I have already raised a monastery for the World Honored and wish only that you, great king, send an ambassador to invite the Buddha." After the king heard this, he immediately sent an ambassador to Rājagṛha to invite the Buddha and the community of monks. "World Honored, we wish only that you would pay a visit to Śrāvasti."

At that time, the World Honored with the four orders[146] in front of, behind, and circling around him came to Śrāvasti emitting great light and causing the earth to shake. During the journey, they stopped at all the guest houses that had been arranged. Along the way, they converted people without limit. Gradually they approached the edge of the city of Śrāvasti. Great crowds carrying offerings all came out to welcome and wait for the World Honored.

When the World Honored arrived in the country, he went to a broad place. Emitting a great light that shone around for three thousand great chilocosms,[147] he touched his toes to the ground and the ground shook everywhere. The musical instruments in the city sounded by themselves without being struck. The blind could see and the deaf could hear; the dumb could speak and the hunchbacked became straight. The infirm and the deformed were all restored to wholeness. All of the people, men and women, young and old, jumped with joy when they saw these auspicious responses. Coming to visit the place where the Buddha was, all 1,800,000 people gathered around.

At that time, the World Honored dispensed medicines according to the illness and lectured on the wonderful dharma. Depending upon what comported with their past karmic affinities, they attained the traces of the Way. There were those who attained the stream of holy living, single rebirth, nonreturning, and arhatship.[148] There were those who planted the seeds of pratyekabuddhahood[149] and there were those who exemplified the unsurpassed true meaning of the Way. Each of them rejoiced to obey and carry out the words of the Buddha.

"Now," the Buddha told Ānanda, "this parkland was bought by Sudatta, but the trees with their blossoms and fruit belong to Jeta. With one mind, together these two men

built the monastery. It ought to be given the name Crown Prince Jetavana[150] Anāthapiṇḍika[151] Park. Let this name spread and be transmitted to inform later generations."

At that time, Ānanda and the host of the four orders[152] heard what the Buddha said. They received and carried it out with utmost respect.[153]

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

1. This is the forty-eighth story of the *TT* edition of the *SWF*, the ninth story in the tenth scroll. It was the forty-sixth story in the Liao (Khitan) edition of the Tripiṭaka. The story of Sudatta building a monastery occurs neither in the Tibetan nor in the Mongolian version of the sūtra. The purpose of translating the entire story here is so that it may serve as a sample of the narrative technique of a typical piece in the sūtra and so that it may be compared with the transformation text on the same theme, a popular work from the T'ang dynasty which ultimately must derive from the same sort of Central Asian and Indian sources as those for *SWF*, except that it is expressed in a still more folkish and colloquial manner. In many places, however, the Tun-huang version and the *SWF* are almost identical. This is true particularly of those portions of the *SWF* where there are traces of orality. See Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, pp. 18-19, 53-55, 99-101; *Painting and Performance*, pp. xi, 2, 39, 76, 104, 105, 111, 131; and the complete, annotated translation in *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, pp. 31-84, 174-223. Many other well-known popular Buddhist texts from Tun-huang (e.g., the *avadāna* of the ugly girl) and other Chinese sources are closely linked to the *SWF*.

Normally, it is held that the *SWF* story translated here is the source of the transformation text on Śāriputra and the six heretical masters. There is, however, a completely different interpretation that may be made of the relationship between such stories as that from the *SWF* presented here and their counterparts in more popular versions such as the transformation texts. The sequence of events and even small narrative and descriptive details make it unmistakably clear that there is indeed a connection between the two renditions. But, rather than assuming that the transformation text is a colorful elaboration of the *SWF* version, it is possible to imagine that the *SWF* version is a literary distillation of a fuller and more exuberant oral original. This would imply that the transformation text was not necessarily adapted from the *SWF* version of the story but rather that it derived from an oral tradition circulating in Central Asia. By this account, the initial entry of the story into the repertoire of Chinese Buddhist literature would have been through folk or popular "dicture." In this scenario, the Central Asian vernaculars (such as Khotanese, Tocharian, and Sogdian) would have played a key role in the transmission of Indian Buddhist narratives to China, but more at the level of orality than through writing.

2. The name means "well-given, a good giver; beneficent." Because of his extreme generosity, he came to be known as Anāthapiṇḍika ("giver to orphans and widows"). In Chinese, this is Chi-ku (tu) 給孤 (獨).

3. The Chinese term *ching-she* 精舍 signifies an abode for pure (spiritual) cultivation -- a place for the celibate, i.e., a monastery or nunnery.

4. *Evaṃ mayā śrutam.*

5. Literally "stopping" (*chih* 止).

6. Chu-yüan 竹園, Sanskrit Veṇuvana. The full name of the park was Karaṇḍa-veṇuvana. Near Rājagṛha, it was made by Bimbisāra for a group of ascetics and later given by him to Śākyamuni. Another legend, however, holds that the park was given to Śākyamuni by Karaṇḍa who built there a *vihāra* for him.

7. *Śhreṣṭhin*, referring to Sudatta.

8. The term *tuan-cheng* literally means "upright, proper," but it also has connotations of handsomeness or beauty.

9. Early Middle Sinitic ɣɔʰ-mjiă 護彌. This is probably an Indic (or perhaps Khotanese) name, but its original form is not known.

10. The Buddha, his dharma (doctrines or teachings), and *saṅgha* (the community of monks).

11. The text says simply "What level does he wish to make?"

12. *Upāsaka.*

13. *Bhikṣu saṅgha.*

14. "Pure Rice King."

15. *Dvātriṁśa*, the number of *lakṣaṇa* or physical marks of a *cakravartin* ("wheel turner"), especially a Buddha (see two sentences below).

16. *Ārya.* The word "most" has been added to the translation.

17. *Aśiti*, the number of notable physical characteristics of a Buddha. The words "was possessed of" have been added to the translation.

18. The highest in comparison with silver, copper, and iron *cakravartin*s.

19. *Pravraj*, i.e., became a monk.

20. *Māra*, or Māra's host.

21. *Aṣṭādaśa*.

22. This figure could also be interpreted as one hundred thousand, ten million, or a hundred million. See below at note 100 where, instead of as eighteen million, *shih-pa yi* has been rendered as 1,800,000.

23. This is an incorrect translation of Śākyamuni.

24. *Daśabala*, the ten powers of a Buddha.

25. *Abhaya*.

26. Dissimilarities (*asakṛt* or *āvenika*).

27. Three aspects of the omniscience of a Buddha: knowledge of future karma, past karma, and liberation from present illusion.

28. I.e., Brahma.

29. I.e., preach.

30. *Saddharma cakra*.

31. Benares.

32. Mṛga dāva.

33. *Catvāri-ārya-satyāni.*

34. A prince of Magadha, uncle and first disciple of Śākyamuni.

35. *Āsravakṣaya*, the end of the passions/outflows; exhaustion of the stream of transmigration. The words "of their passions" and "of intellection" have been added to the translation of this sentence.

36. Buddhist ascetics.

37. *Ṣaḍabhijña*, six universal powers acquired by a Buddha or one of his adepts.

38. *Catvāro 'bhiprāyāḥ.*

39. *Saptabodhyaṅga.*

40. *Āryamārga.*

41. *Śūnya ākāsa.*

42. Heavenly deities.

43. *Srota-āpanna*, one who goes against the stream of transmigration.

44. *Apramāṇa, amita, ananta.*

45. *Deva-manuṣyāḥ.*

46. *Anuttara.*

47. *Mārga.*

48. A forest near Gaya where Śākyamuni was an ascetic for six years; Kāśyapa, one of the principle disciples of Śākyamuni.

49. *Manas*, mind.

50. See note 34.

51. "Responsive to the truth" (an old translation of *arhat*, Buddhist saint).

52. *Ṛddhipāda; ṛddhi-sākṣātkriyā*, deva-foot ubiquity; supernatural power; to appear at will anywhere.

53. *Īśvara*, free from resistance or delusion; independent.

54. *Puṇyakṣetra.*

55. *Sarva sattva*, all living beings.

56. *Vandana; namas-kāra.*

57. *Cātur-mahārāja* or *lokapāla.*

58. *Lokajeṣṭha* (world's most venerable) or *lokanātha* (lord of worlds).

59. Using the variant instead of the homophonous "white" in the text.

60. Jambudvīpa (the southern, inhabited continent of the four in the universe).

61. To prevent sleepiness, or as an exercise while meditating.

62. An epithet of the Buddha.

63. *Pu-shen* is a highly colloquial greeting.

64. The surname of the Buddha's family. This is a very casual, disrespectful way to address such an exalted personage as the Buddha.

65. A deva ("heavenly being").

66. *Pūjā.*

67. Literally, "long kneeling." In technical Buddhist parlance, this does not mean that they knelt for a long time, rather that they knelt with knees and toes touching the ground but with their thighs and bodies erect, i.e., "tall kneeling."

68. Out of reverence; this is called *pradakṣina.*

69. *Catvāri ārya-satyāni.*

70. *Duḥkha.*

71. *Śūnyatā.*

72. *Anitya.*

73. See note 43.

74. This is the same word, *jan*, that is translated as "affected" in the previous and following sentences.

75. In salutation (*añjali*).

76. Heterodoxy, depravity; i.e., faiths other than Buddhism.

77. More literally, "place for pure/spiritual [cultivation]."

78. The words "wished to" in this sentence and "had to" in the next sentence have been added to the translation to avoid confusion.

79. Following the variant instead of the homophonous "feel, grope" in the text.

80. A tricent (*li*) is **three hundred** paces or roughly one third of a mile (= a **thousand** paces).

81. An Indian measure of length said to be equal to a day's march for an army; variously defined as 40, 30, or 16 tricents in Chinese texts.

82. *Cakravartin*.

83. Literally, "the displayed/promulgated article," i.e., monk's robe.

84. The words "to find" and "so that" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

85. "Victor," a prince of Śrāvasti, son of King Prasenajit.

86. The words "engages in it' and "to the throne" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

87. See note 65.

88. More literally, "to regret in the middle."

89. The unit of measurement in question is actually equal to about 16.7 acres, whereas a hectare is equal to 2.471 acres.

90. That is, he was a *bhadanta*.

91. The six *tīrthika*s (non-Buddhist teachers).

92. Jeta's park.

93. See note 36.

94. The last seven words have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

95. *Pātra*.

96. See note 19. The word "secular" has been added to the translation.

97. See note 60.

98. The original text has Sudatta changing his clothes before bathing!

99. The text is not specific about whom he asks.

100. It is impossible to determine the magnitude of this number. One *yi* (of which there are 18 here) may equal 100,000, 1,000,000, 10,000,000, or 100,000,000 as in Chinese now. Cf. note 22.

101. Deep meditative contemplation.

102. *Indriya.*

103. *Apratihati.*

104. There are various possibilities: knowledge and cutting off of all passion and illusion, compassion and knowledge, nature/character and cultivation, etc.

105. A kalpa is like an eon.

106. See note 90.

107. *Niṣīdana*, a thing to sit or lie on, a mat.

108. *Siṁharāja*, an epithet of the Buddha.

109. *Sapta ratna* (there are various lists, mostly consisting of precious minerals and jewels). The words "was adorned" have been added to the translation.

110. This could also possibly be interpreted as meaning "turned himself into...." Compare the sixth and last creations of the contest below where both Raudrākṣa and Śāriputra explicitly transform themselves into a demon and Vaiśravaṇa.

111. *Śvetaḥ ṣad-danto gajarājah* (in the *Lotus sūtra*).

112. *Saptaratna alamkāraka.*

113. *Vajra vīra.*

114. *Nāga.* The Chinese text more literally says "dragon-body."

115. *Garuḍarāja.*

116. *Siṁharāja.*

117. *Yakṣa.*

118. Guardian *mahārāja* of the north.

119. The knees, elbows, and head -- showing utmost respect.

120. *Ṛddhipāda; ṛddhi-sākṣātkriyā.*

121. See note 43.

122. *Sakṛdāgāmin* -- once more to be born or to arrive. The second grade of arhatship (sainthood) involving only one rebirth.

123. *Anāgāmin* -- the noncoming or nonreturning arhat who will not be reborn in this world.

124. Sainthood.

125. I.e., became monks (see note 19).

126. The four *varga* (groups or orders) of Buddhist religious: *bhikṣu* (monks), *bhikṣuṇī* (nuns), *upāsaka* (male devotees), and *upāsikā* (female devotees).

127. *Devaloka*s.

128. Vision attained through the cultivation of Buddhist doctrines.

129. *Eka-jāti-pratibaddha.*

130. An alternative translation, though less likely here, is "just at that moment."

131. First of the seven Buddhas of antiquity; Śākyamuni was the seventh.

132. Second of the seven Buddhas of antiquity.

133. Third of the seven Buddhas of antiquity.

134. Fourth of the seven Buddhas of antiquity.

135. Fifth of the seven Buddhas of antiquity.

136. Sixth of the seven Buddhas of antiquity.

137. See note 105.

138. *Mukti; mokṣa* -- emancipation or liberation from the bonds of *saṁsāra* (transmigrational cycle of death and rebirth).

139. *Saṁsāra.*

140. *Puṇya* -- blessings, good fortune.

141. Note that *yi-shu* 蟻術 ("the skill of saving the lives of ants) is the duty of a good Buddhist.

142. *Candana.*

143. In the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü (A New Account of Tales of the World)*, *pieh-fang* 别房 refers to houses for concubines, but here it must refer to separate rooms (other than those in the grotto for the Buddha Śākyamuni).

144. *Ghaṇṭā* -- bells, gongs, and other resonant articles.

145. Emending *shen* 愼 ("cautious") to *ch'en* 瞋 .

146. See note 126.

147. *Tri-sahasra-mahā-sahasra-loka-dhātu.*

148. See notes 121-124.

149. A pratyekabuddha seeks enlightenment for himself. He is zealous in pursuing wisdom, loves seclusion, and deeply understands the *nidānas* (primary causes or links in the chain of existence).

150. Victor's woods.

151. He who gives to orphans and widows.

152. This probably signifies the same groups as in note 126, but it might possibly also signify the same groups as in notes 121-124.

153. Literally, bore on the tops of their heads. From Sanskrit *śīrṣā-udvāhana* -- to bear an image, scripture (as here), etc. to convey extreme respect.

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PHONOLOGICAL DATA

The following charts began with the identification and extraction of over five hundred proper nouns and technical terms from *SWF*. From these were eliminated all but a handful of those sinographic transcriptions that could readily be determined to be "standard" -- regardless of which language they may have come from -- by the middle of the fifth century in the sense of recurring frequently in numerous Chinese translations of Buddhist texts from that period. The aim of compiling these charts is to specify and identify all those transcriptions which are specific to the *SWF* and hence may yield some clues concerning the nature of the language(s) in which it was heard by the eight Chinese monks who went to Khotan in 445. Also included are all transcriptions in the *SWF* which are accompanied by an original Chinese gloss. Most of these are specific to the *SWF* and are evidently painstaking efforts on the part of the compilers to record as accurately as they could with sinographs the proper names and technical terms they heard in Khotan and to provide them with semantic glosses. As a result, they are extremely important for analyzing the linguistic environment encountered by the Liang-chou monks in Khotan.

The T'ang reconstructions are those of Pulleyblank for the *Ch'ieh-yün [Tomic Rhymes]* 切韻 of 601 CE. Those wishing to sharpen these reconstructions for the specific task at hand may do so by adjusting them with Takata Tokio's reconstructions for the area around Tun-huang a couple of centuries later and South Coblin's late Han reconstructions from some four centuries earlier. Since the *SWF* was translated in 445, however, the *Ch'ieh-yün* reconstructions are probably the closest available set.

It is significant that the Chinese semantic glosses are marked by the archaic formula *Chin yen* ("in the language of the Chin") 晉言 or even *Ch'in yen* ("in the language of the Ch'in") 秦言. Chin (Western [265-316], Eastern [317-420]) and Ch'in (249-247 BCE), of course, refer to earlier Chinese dynasties. Such expressions would not have been used after about the middle of the fifth century when they were replaced by references to the Northern Wei which had unified northern China by that time. Indeed, later editions of *SWF* replaced these expressions with *tz'u yen* 此言 ("this means") because their continued usage must have been thought to be confusing to the subjects of later dynasties who would have referred to Chinese by the name of the reigning house. We should note, furthermore, that the semantic glosses are already an integral part of the Tun-huang manuscripts (e.g., Pelliot 2316, l. 9:立字為波婆伽梨。晉言惡事).

Restoration of the Sanskrit names and terms has been achieved by relying on the Chinese semantic glosses, by referring to collections of *avadāna* for which Sanskrit or Pāli texts survive (e.g., *Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Jātaka, Jātakamālā, Avadānaśataka*, etc.),

and by consulting the Tibetan and Mongolian translations of the *SWF.* In some cases, restoration has not been possible at all and, in others, it has only been offered tentatively. In most cases, however, the suggested restorations are probably the original basis for what the Chinese monks heard in Khotan, although, of course, such names and terms were not pronounced as in Sanskrit but as they would have been by the local religious lecturers and storytellers. The noun endings clearly point to an East Central Asian (more specifically Khotanese) pronunciation, while the configuration of the internal consonants of words reveal an underlying Prakrit substratum with apparent efforts toward Sanskritization.

The columns of the charts provide the following information: 1. serial number of the story and number of the story in which it occurs, together with the number of the corresponding story in the Tibetan and Mongolian versions; 2. the name or term in sinographs; 3. Modern Standard Mandarin transcription; 4. Early Middle Sinitic reconstruction; 5. Chinese gloss, if provided in *SWF*; 6. Sanskrit equivalent and other pertinent remarks; 7. category of the entry.

Serial No. / Story No.	Sinographs (TT page, register, line)	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in *Hsien-yü ching*	Sanskrit	Category
1 / 1 T1 M1	修樓婆 349a17	Hsiu-lou-p'o	suw-ləw-ba	Miao-se 妙色 Wonderful Form	Surūpa	p.N. a king
2 / 1 T1 M1	虔闍尼婆梨 (婆 → 沙) 349b25	ch'ien-she-ni-p'o-li (↳ so)	gian-dʑia-nri-ba-li (↳ sa)		Kañjanapāla (?) Kaśanapāla (?) This should be connected, following the Khotanese and Uighur versions of the story, to Kāñcanasāra	p.N. a king
3 / 1 T1 M1	虔闍婆梨 349c13	Ch'ien-she-p'o-li	gian-dʑia-ba-li			p.N. a king var. of #2
4 / 1 T1 M1	毘楞竭梨 350a20	P'i-leng-chieh-li	bji-ləŋ-giat/giat-li		Tib. Byi-lin-gi-ra-li	p.N. a king
5 / 1 T1 M1	曇摩鉗 350c14	T'an-mo-ch'ien	dəm/dam-ma-giam		Dharmakāma (?) Tib. Daṅgama	p.N. a crown prince
6 / 1 T1 M1	提婆拔提 351c7	T'i-p'o-pa-t'i	dej-ba-bəɨt/bɛɨt-dej		Devavatī	p.N. a king
7 / 2 T2 M2	摩訶羅檀囊 352c13	Mo-ho-lo-t'an-nang	ma-xa-la-dan-naŋ	Ta-pao 大寶 Great Jewel	Mahāratna	p.N. a king
8 / 2 T2 M2	摩訶富那寧 352c14	Mo-ho-fu-na-ning	ma-xa-puwʰ-nah-nejŋ		puwʰ-nah could be meant to transcribe puṇya, puṇar, or pūrṇa, but this must be an attempt to transcribe Mahāpraṇā[da] (?) cf. Pāli Mahāpanāda (?)	p.N. oldest son of #7
9 / 2 T2 M3	摩訶提婆 352c15	Mo-ho-t'i-p'o	ma-xa-dɛj-ba	Ta-t'ien 大天 Great Heaven	Mahādeva	p.N. second son of #7

Mair Hsien-yü ching phonological data

Serial No. / Story No.	Sinographs (TT page, register, line)	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in Hsien-yü ching	Sanskrit	Category
10 / 2 / T2M2	摩訶羅檀那 353b8	Mo-ho-lo-t'an-na	ma-xa-la-dan-nah		Mahāratna	p.n. a king; same as #7
11 / 2 / T2M2	婆修蜜[多]羅 353b11	P'o-hsiu-mi-[to-]lo	ba-suw-mjit-[ta-]la		Vasumitra	p.n. important figure in Buddhist history
12 / 7 / TXM7	須闍提 353a13, 356b19	Hsü-she-t'i	suă-dzia-dej	Shan-sheng 善生 Well Born	Sujāta	p.n. a crown prince of Devadatta (king of Taxila)
13 / 7 / TXM7	修婆羅提致 later editions have 丨丨提羅丨 356b16	Hsiu-p'o-lo-t'i-chih	suw-ba-la-dej-tɕih	Shan-chu 善住 Well Staying	Supratiṣṭita; Pāli Suppatitthita	p.n. youngest prince of Devadatta
14 / 8 / T7M8	波闍羅 357b13	Po-she-lo	pa-dzia-la	Chin-kang 金剛 Metal Hard	Vajrā	p.n. daughter of Mallikā, chief consort of King Prasenajit
15 / 10 / T9M10	弗波提婆 359a6	Fu-po-t'i-p'o	put-pa-dej-ba	Hua-t'ien 花天 Flower Heaven	Puṣpadeva; Pāli Pupphadeva	p.n. son of an elder of Śrāvastī
16 / 11 / T10M11	勒那提婆 359b16	Le-na-t'i-p'o	lək-nah-dej-ba	Pao-t'ien 寶天 Jewel Heaven	Ratnadeva	p.n. son of an elder of Śrāvastī
17 / 12 / T11M12	羼提波梨; 丨丨婆羅 (regularized variant in later editions) 359c8, 24	Ch'an-t'i-po-li; —— p'o-lo	tʂʰaɨnʰ/tʂʰəɨnʰ-dej-pa-li; —— ba-la		Kṣāntivāda, -vādin; Pāli Khantivādī	ṛṣi of Vārāṇasī
18 / 12 / T11M12	欝卑羅迦葉 359c11; 卑 > 毘 in later editions and in 359c14	Yü-pei-lo-chia-yeh; p'i	ʔut-pjiă/pji-la-kia-ɲjɨap; bji		Uruvilvā Kāśyapa	p.n. brothers converted by the Buddha

Mair Hsien-yü ching phonological data

Serial No. / Story No. / TT page, register, line	Sinographs	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in Hsien-yü ching	Sanskrit	Category
19 / 13 / T12 M13	彌佉羅拔羅 360b22	Mi-ch'ü/ch'ia-lo-pa-lo	mjiă/mji-k^{h}ɨa-la-baɨt/beɨt-la	Tz'u-li 慈力 Compassion Strength	Maitrībala/Maitrabala Pāli Mettibala The second sinograph is normally used to transcribe Sanskrit kā	p.N. a king
20 / 14 / T13 M14	越祗 362a1	Yüeh-chih	wuat-tɕiă/tɕi		Vṛji Pāli Vajjī	pl.N. a country
21 / 14 / T13 M14	屯真陀羅 362a2	T'un/chun-chen-t'o-lo	dwən-tɕin-da-la		Tibetan Śun-tsiṇ-las	p.N. a man of Vṛji
22 / 14 / T13 M14	因陀婆彌 362a4	Yin-t'o-p'o-mi	ʔjin-da-ba-mjiă/mji		Indravarma	p.N. a king of Taxila
23 / 14 / T13 M14	迦毘羅衛 362a16	Chia-p'i-lo-wei	kɨa-bji-la-wiaj^h		Kapilavastu	pl.N. a country
24 / 14 / T13 M14	施陀尼彌 363b12	Shih-t'o-ni-mi	ɕiă/ɕi-da-nri-mjiă/mji		Śata- Seta-	p.N. a king
25 / 14 / T13 M14	須梨波羅滿 363c16	Hsü-li-po-lo-man	suă-li-pa-la-man'		Suriyaprabhā Sūryaprabhā	p.N. chief consort of #24
26 / 14 / T13 M14	那波羅滿 363c25	Na-po-lo-man	nah-pa-la-man'	Hui-kuang 惠光 Grace Light The first graph must be an error for 慧 (wisdom)	Jñānaprabha Pāli Ñānapabha	p.N. son of #24 and #25
27 / 14 / T13 M14	摩訶賒仇利 364b11	Mo-ho-she-ch'iu/ch'ou-li	ma-xa-ɕia-guw-li^h		Mahāśakula (?)	p.N. a king

Serial No. / Story No.	Sinographs (T page, register, line)	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in *Hsien-yü ching*	Sanskrit	Category
28 / 14 / T13M14	多羅睺施 (施 → 柁 in later versions) 364c4	To-lo-hou-shih t'o/to	ta-la-yəw-giă/gi da/da'	Chu-wu 株杌 Trunk Stump	Tālakusa (?) Tārā- Tāra- Tara-	p.n. son of #27
29 / 14 / T13M14	律師跋蹉 364c17	Lü-shih-pa-ts'o/tz'u	lwit-ṣi-bat-ts^{h}a		Ṛṣivatsa (?) Pali Isivaccha (?)	p.n. a king
30 / 14 / T13M14	須陀羅扇 365b2	Hsü-t'o-lo-shan	suă-da-la-$gian^{h}$		Śūdra-	p.n. another name for #28
31 / 14 / T13M14	摩訶釋仇梨 365b15	Mo-ho-shih-ch'iu/ch'ou-li	ma-xa-giajk-guw-li		Mahāśakula (?)	p.n. a king
32 / 14 / T13M14	律師 365b27	Lü-shih	lwit-ṣi		Ṛṣipatana see #67	pl.n. a mountain near Vārāṇasī
33 / 15 / T14M15	鋸陀 366a13, c11	Chü-t'o	$kɨə̆^{h}$-da		Kunta	p.n. a beast
34 / 15 / T14M15	祇域 366a15	Ch'i-yü	gjiă/gji-wik		Jīvaka	p.n. a doctor
35 / 16 / T25M26	流離 367a22	Liu-li	luw-liă/li		usually Vaiḍūrya, but here it is an abbreviated transcription for Viḍūḍabha	p.n. crown prince who succeeded King Prasenajit
36 / 16 / T25M26	偷羅難陀 鍮蘭〃〃 (variant in later editions) 367b1	T'ou-lo-nan-t'o T'ou-lan-nan-t'o	t^{h}əw-la-nan-da t^{h}əw-lan-nan-da		Sthūlanandā Pali Thullanandā	p.n. a nun

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37 / 17 / T27M28	波塞奇 368c26, 371b14	Po-sai-ch'i	pa-sək-giă/gi		-saka cf. #52	p.n. a king
38 / 17 / T27M29	阿輸提 369c1	A-shu-t'i	ʔa-ɕuă-dej			t.t.
39 / 19 / T29M30	差摩 370a 5, 20	Ch'a-mo	tʂai/tʂʰeɨ-ma	An-yin 安隱 Peaceful Seclusion	Kṣemā	p.n. wife of a brahman
40 / 19 / T29M30	阿藍婆 370b22	A-lan-p'o	ʔa-lam-ba		Alambā (?)	p.n. sister of Lambā, a rākṣasī
41 / 19 / T29M30	分那奇 370c3	Fen-na-ch'i	pun-nah-giă/gi		Pūrṇaka (i.e., "full") Pāli Puṇṇaka	p.n. brother of a yakṣa
42 / 20 / T37M38	勒那識祇 371b23	Le-na-shih-ch'i	lək-nah-ɕik-gjiă/gji	Pao-chi 寶髻 Precious Coif	Ratnaśikhi[n]	p.n. a crown prince
43 / 20 / T37M38	阿梨蜜羅 371b26	A-li-mi-lo	ʔa-li-mjit-la	Sheng-yu 聖友 Sage Friend	Āryamitra	p.n. a monk
44 / 21 / TXMX	散闍 372a26	San-she	sanʰ-dʑia		Saṃyāta Middle Indic * Saṃjā(ta)	p.n. an elephant trainer
45 / 21 / TXMX	摩訶斯那優婆夷 373a20; cf. 373c9 ff, 374b29	Mo-ho-ssu-na-yu-p'o-yi	ma-xa-siă/si-naʰ-ʔuw-ba-ji		Mahāsena-upāsikā	p.n. a person of #46

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46 / 21 / TXMX	毘紐乾 373b8	P'i-niu-kan	bji-nruw'-kan		Veḷukaṇḍiya	pl.N. a border country belonging to King Prasenajit
47 / 21 / TxMX	摩訶優波斯那 373b9	Mo-ho-yu-p'o-ssu-na	ma-xa-ʔuw-pa-siă/si-nah		Mahā upasenā	p.N. a woman of #46, same as #45
48 / 21 / TXMX	毘樓勒叉 373b28	P'i-lou-le-ch'a-liu	bji-ləw-lək-ʈʂʰaɨt/ʈʂʰɛɨt		Virūḍhaka Pāli Virūlha, Virulha	p.N. controlling deity of the south
49 / 21 / TxMX	毘紐乾特 374c13	P'i-niu-kan-t'e	bji-nruw'-kan-dək		Veḷukaṇḍiya	pl.N. a grove
50 / 23 / T15 M16	尸利苾提 376b2, c14	Shih-li-pi-t'i	ɕi-lih-bjit-dej	Fu-tseng 福增 Fortune Increase	Śrīvṛddha	p.N. an elder
51 / 23 / T15 M16	泥提 372a12	Ni-t'i	nej-dej		Nidha	p.N. a nightsoil collector cf. # 92
52 / 23 / T15 M16	陀塞羇 377a13	T'o-sai-chi	da-sək-kiă/ki		Dāsaka	p.N. a great brigand
53 / 23 / T15 M16	分陀利 378b23	Fen-t'o-li	pun-da-lih		Puṇḍarīka	pl.N. a hell
54 / 23 / T15 M16	獺利吒 var. 瀨 379a7	T'a-li-ch'a Lai	tʰat-lih-ʈʰraɨh/ʈrʰɛɨh (?) lajh		Lalita (?)	p.N. a monk

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55 / 23 / T15M16	曇摩苾提 379a26	T'an-mo-pi-t'i	dəm/dam-ma-bjit-dej	Fa-tseng 法增 Law Increased	Dharmavṛddha	p.n. a king
56 / 25 / T17M18	曼慈毘梨 382a21	Man-tz'u-p'i-li	muanʰ-dzi/dzi-bji-li	Nan-ken 男根 Male Root 382a20 (?)	Mañjipila (?)	p.n. a deformed man of Śrāvastī
57 / 25 / T17M18	檀若世質 382b9	T'an-jo-shih-chih	dan-ɲɨak-ɕiajʰ-trih/tɕit		Dānaśreṣṭha or Dānavaśiṣtha (?)	p.n. an elder brother
58 / 25 / T17M18	尸羅世質 382b10	Shih-lo-shih-chih	ɕi-la-ɕiajʰ-trih/tɕit		Śīlaśreṣṭha or Śīlavaśiṣṭha (?)	p.n. a younger brother
59 / 26 / T18M19	叔離 383b1	Shu-li	ɕuwk-liǎ/li	Pai 白 White	Śuklā Pāli Sukkā	p.n. a child
60 / 26 / T18M19	檀膩伽 regularized later variant of #61 383b20	T'an-ni-ch'ieh	dan-nrih-gia		Dhanikā	p.n. a poor woman
61 / 26 / T18M19	陀膩羇 383c19	T'o-ni-chi	da-nrih-kiǎ/ki		Dhanikā	p.n. a poor woman
62 / 27 / T19M20	阿梨提 384a1	A-li-t'i	ʔa-li-dej			p.n. a country
63 / 27 / T19M20	阿槃提 variant of #62 384a1	A-p'an-t'i	ʔa-ban-dej		Avanti	p.n. a country

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64 / 28 / T20M21	修越耶(→那)提婆 384b25	Hsiu-yüeh-yeh(na)-t'i-p'o	suw-wuat-jia(→nah)-dej-ba	Chin-t'ien 金天 Gold Heaven	Suvarṇadeva	p.n. a man of Śrāvastī
65 / 28 / T20M21	脩跋那婆蘇 (→ earlier edition had just 波) 384c6	Hsiu-pa-na-p'o-su (po)	suw-bat-na-ba-sɔ (pa)	Chin-kuang-ming 金光明 Gold Light Bright	Suvarṇabhāsā	p.n. a woman of Campā
66 / 30 / T34M35	散檀寧 386a5	San-t'an-ning	sanh-dan-nejŋ		Sandhāna	p.n. an elder
67 / 30 / T34M35	利師 386c5	Li-shih	lih-ṣi	Hsien-shan 仙山 Transcendent's Mountain	Ṛsi [giri] (see #32)	pl.n. a mountain near Vārāṇasī
68 / 30 / T34M35	散陀寧 386c11	San-t'o-ning	sanh-da-nejŋ		Sandhāna	p.n. an ascetic
69 / 31 / T22M23	旃陀婆羅脾 388b14	Chan-t'o-p'o-lo-p'i	tɕian-da-ba-la-bjiǎ/bji	Yüeh-kuang 月光 Moon Light	Candraprabhā	p.n. a king
70 / 31 / T22M23	須摩檀 388b17	Hsü-mo-t'an	suǎ-ma-dan	Hua-shih 花施 Flower Bestower	Sumadāna	p.n. chief consort of #69
71 / 31 / T22M23	摩旃陀 388b18	Mo-chan-t'o	ma-tɕian-da	Ta-yüeh 大月 Great Moon	Mahācandra	p.n. chief minister of #69
72 / 31 / T22M23	尸羅跋陀 388b19	Shih-lo-pa-t'o	ɕi-la-bat-da	Chieh-hsien 戒賢 Preceptually Wise	Śīlabhadra	p.n. crown prince of #69

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73 / 31 / T22 M23	跋陀耆婆 388b20	Pa-t'o-ch'i-p'o	bat-da-gji-ba	Hsien-shou 賢壽 Wisely Longevous	Bhadrajīva	pl.N. capital of #69
74 / 31 / T22M23	毘摩斯那 388c17	P'i-mo-ssu-na	bji-ma-siə̆/si-na^h		Bhīmasena	p.N. a king
75 / 31 / T22M23	勞度差 389a5	Lao-tu-ch'a	law^h/law-dɔ^h-tʂ^{h}aɨ/tʂ^{h}ɛ̣ɨ		Rudrākṣa or Raudrākṣa	p.N. a brahman
76 / 31 / T22M23	毘摩羨 390a17	P'i-mo-hsien	bji-ma-zian^h		Bhīmasena	p.N. a king
77 / 32 / T25M36	富迦羅拔 390c24	Fu-chia-lo-pa	puw^h-kɨa-la-bait/bɛ̣ɨt		Puṣkalāvata	pl.N. a city-state
78 / 32 / T25M36	須提羅 390c24	Hsü-t'i-lo	suw-dej-la	K'uai-mu 快目 Quick Eye (i.e., "highly intelligent")	Sudhīra	p.N. king of #77
79 / 32 / T25M36	尸羅拔陀提 390c29; cf. #72	Shih-lo-pa-t'o-t'i	ɕi-la-bait/bɛ̣ɨt-da-dej	Chieh-hsien 戒賢 Preceptually Wise	Śīlabhadra	p.N. crown prince of #77
80 / 32 / T25M36	波羅陀跋彌 391a18	Po-lo-t'o-pa-mi	pa-la-da-bat-mjiə̆/mji		Prahāradavarma[n]	p.N. a king
81 / 32 / T25M36	勞陀達 391b7	Lao-t'o-ta	law^h/law-da-dat			p.N. minister of #80

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82 / 33 TXMX	薩薄 393b16	Sa-po	sat-bak		Sārthavāha (abbreviation of the first and third syllables) cf. Pāli sabhā	t.t. head of a merchant group, usually involved in overseas trading
83 / 34 TXMX	富那奇 393c2,21	Fu-na-ch'i	puw^h-na^h-giă/gi	Man-yüan 滿願 Fulfilled Wish	Pūrṇeccha	p.n. son of an elder's maid
84 / 34 TXMX	曇摩羡 393c4	T'an-mo-hsien	dəm/dam-ma-zian^h-na^h	Fa-chün 法軍 Law Army	Dharmasena	p.n. an elder
85 / 34 TXMX	羡那 393c6	Hsien-na	zian^h-na^h	Chün 軍 Army	Sena	p.n. son of #84
86 / 34 TXMX	耆陀羡那 393c8	Ch'i-t'o-hsien-na	gji-da-zian^h-na^h	Sheng-chün 勝軍 Victorious Army	Jetasena	p.n. another son of #84
87 / 34 TXMX	奇虔直奇 395b6	Ch'i-ch'ien-chih-ch'i	giă/gi-gian-drik-giă/gi	Hsü-sheng 續生 Continued Life		p.n. a monk
88 / 34 TXMX	阿那律提 395c21	A-na-lü-t'i	ʔa-na^h-lwit-dej		Aniruddha	p.n. a disciple of the Buddha
89 / 34 TXMX	分耨文陀尼子 396a9	Fen-no/nou-wen-t'o-ni-tzu	pun-nəw^h-mun-da-nri-tsɨ'/tsi'		Pūrṇa-maitrāyaṇīputra; Pāli Puṇṇa-mantāṇiputta	p.n. disciple of the Buddha
90 / 34 TXMX	劫賓寧 369b1	Chieh-pin-ning	kɨap-pjin-nejŋ		Kapphiṇa	p.n. king of Suvarṇabhūmi

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91 / 34 / TX MX	賓頭盧埵闍 396b3, 428a1	Pin-t'ou-lu-to-she	pjin-dəw-lɔ-twa'-dzia		Piṇḍola-[bhāra]dvāja	p.N. a disciple of the Buddha
92 / 35 / TXMX	尼提 397a24, 29	Ni-t'i	nri-dɛj		Nidha	p.N. a poor man of Śrāvastī
93 / 36 / T24M25	劫賓寧 398a14	Chieh-pin-ning	kɨap-pjin-nejŋ		Kapphiṇa	p.N. king of Suvarṇabhūmi
94 / 36 / T24M25	摩訶劫賓寧 398a17	Mo-ho-chieh-pin-ning	ma-xa-kɨap-pjin-nejŋ		Mahākapphiṇa	p.N. crown prince of #93
95 / 37 / T23M24	梨耆彌 399a22, 24	Li-ch'i-mi (→ mi-ch'i-li) ?	li-gji-mjiə/mji		Mṛgāra	p.N. a minister of King Prasenajit
96 / 37 / T23M24	曇摩訶羨 399b24; cf. #84	T'an-mo-ho-hsien	dəm/dam-ma-xa-zianʰ		Dharmasena (?)	p.N. brother of King Prasenajit
97 / 37 / T23M24	毘舍利 399b26	P'i-she-li	bji-ɕiaʰ-liʰ		Vaiśālī	p.N. daughter of #96 (usually a pl.N.)
98 / 38 / T26M27	設頭羅健寧 402a5, 16	She-t'ou-lo-chien-ning	ɕiat-dəw-la-gɨanʰ-nejŋ		Śārdūlakarṇa Pāli Saddulakaṇṇa	p.N. a king
99 / 39 / TXMX	婆羅提婆 402a18	P'o-lo-t'i-p'o	ba-la-dej-ba	Fan-t'ien 梵天 Brahmadeva	Brahmadeva	p.N. a king

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100 / 39 / TXMX	罰闍建提 402c19	Fa-she-chien-t'i	buat-dʑia-kɨanh-dej	Chin-kang-chü 金剛聚 Metal Hard Congregation	Vajraskandha; Pāli Vajirakhanda	p.n. a king
101 / 39 / TXMX	剎羅伽利 403b1	Ch'a-lo-ch'ieh-li	tʂʰait/tʂʰɛɨt-la-gɨa-lih	Kai-shih 蓋事 Cover Matter	Chat[t]rakāra	p.n. a crown prince
102 / 39 / TXMX	阿利耶蜜羅 404a29; cf. #43	A-li-yeh-mi-lo	ʔa-lih-jia-mjit-la	Sheng-yu 聖友 Sage Friend	Āryamitra	p.n. an overseas merchant
103 / 40 / T30M31	婆樓施舍 405a6	P'o-lou-shih-she	ba-ləw-ɕiə̆/ɕi-ɕiah		Bharukacca	pl.n. a capital city
104 / 40 / T30M31	摩醯跋羅 405a13	Mo-hsi-pa-lo	ma-xɛj-bat-la		Maheśvara (?)	p.n. a god
105 / 40 / T30M31	摩訶闍迦樊 405b1	Mo-ho-she-chia-fan	ma-xa-dʑia-kɨa-fan	Ta-shih 大施 Great Bestowal	Mahātyāgavān	p.n. son of a brahman
106 / 42 / T33M34	勒那跋彌 410a24	Le-na-pa-mi	lək-nah-bat-mjiə/mji	Pao-k'ai 寶鎧 Precious Armor	Ratnavarma	p.n. a king
107 / 42 / T33M34	迦良那伽梨 410b29	Chia-liang-na-ch'ieh-li	kɨa-lɨaŋ-nah-gɨa-li	Shan-shih 善事 Good Affair	Kalyāṇaṃkara	p.n. a son of #106
108 / 42 / T33M34	弗巴 410c1	Fu-pa	put-paɨ/pɛɨ		Puṣpā (?)	p.n. a wife of #106

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109 / 42 / T33M34	波婆伽梨 410b29	Po-p'o-ch'ieh-li	pa-ba-gɨa-li	E-shih 惡事 Evil Affair	Pāpaṃkara	p.N. a son of #106
110 / 42 / T33M34	梨師跋陀 413a5	Li-shih-pa-t'o	li-ʂi-bat-da		Ṛṣivarta Prakrit Ṛsivatta or Ṛsivaṭṭa	pl.N. a country
111 / 42 / T33M34	梨師跋 414b13	Li-shih-pa	li-ʂi-bat		Ṛṣabha (?)	p.N. a king
112 / 43 / T31M32	令奴 415b8, 22	Ling-nu	liajŋ^{h}-nɔ		Reṇu	p.N. a king
113 / 43 / T31M32	迦維羅衛 415b9	Chia-wei-lo-wei	kɨa-jwi-la-wiaj^{h}		Kapilavastu	pl.N. a country
114 / 44 / T32M33	摩訶夜移 416b22	Mo-ho-yeh-yi	ma-xa-jia^{h} jiă/ji			p.N. a merchant of Vārāṇasī
115 / 48 / TXMX	護彌 418b23	Hu-mi	ɣɔ^{h}-mjia/mji			p.N. a great minister of Rājagṛha
116 / 48 / TXMX	勞度差 349c4	Lao-tu-ch'a	law^{h}/law-dɔ^{h}-tʂ^{h}aɨ/tʂ^{h}ɛ		see #75	p.N. a heretical master; a brahman
117 / 49 / T20MX	摩訶波羅婆修 421c1	Mo-ho-po-lo-p'o-hsiu	ma-xa-pa-la-ba-suw	Ta-kuang-ming 大光明 Great Light Bright	Mahāprabhāsa	p.N. a king

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118 / 50 / TX MX	勒那闍耶 421c22, 422a12	Le-na-she-yeh	lək-nah-dzia-jia		Ratnajaya	p.N. an overseas merchant
119 / 51 / TX MX	迦毘梨 422b29, c21	Chia-p'i-li	kɨa-bji-li	Huang-t'ou 黃頭 Yellow Head	Kapila	p.N. son of a brahman
120 / 51 / TX MX	梨越 422c2	Li-yüeh	li-wuat		Revata (?)	pl.N. a river
121 / 52 / T36M37	阿鑾賊奇 423b13	A-hsin/wen-tsei-ch'i	ʔa-xinʰ/munʰ-dzək-giă/gi	Wu-nao 無惱 No Vexation	Ahiṃsaka	p.N. son of a minister of King Prasenajit
122 / 52 / T36M39	鴦仇魔羅 424a7	Yang-ch'iu/ch'ou-mo-lo	ʔɨaŋ-guw-ma-la	chih-man 指鬘 Finger Chaplet	Aṅgulimālya Pāli Aṅgulimāla	p.N. a murderous Śaivite
123 / 52 / T36M37	波羅摩達 425a20	Po-lo-mo-ta	pa-la-ma-dat		Brahmadatta	p.N. a king of Vārāṇasī
124 / 52 / T36M37	迦摩沙波陀 425b5	Chia-mo-sha-po-t'o	kɨa-ma-şaɨ/şɛɨ-pa-da	Po-tsu 駁足 Piebald Foot	Kalmāṣapāda	p.N. son of #123 and a lioness
125 / 52 / T36M39	須陀素彌 426a28	Hsü-t'o-su-mi	suă-da-soh-mjiə/mji		Sutasoma	p.N. a king
126 / 53 / T39M40	檀膩鞊 427c28, 428b6	T'an-ni-chi	dan-nrih-kiă/ki		Dhaniya (?) Dhaṇika (?)	p.N. a brahman

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127 / 53 / T39M40	阿波羅提目佉 → 伽 var. in later eds. 428b4	A-po-lo-t'i-mu-ch'ü/ch'ieh	ʔa-pa-la-dej-muwk-kʰɨa/gɨa	Tuan-cheng 端正 Proper (i.e., having handsome features)	Apratimukha Aparādhimukha (?)	p.n. a king
128 / 53 / T39M40	師質 429c7, 10	Shih-chih	ʂi-tɕit/triʰ		Vaśiṣtha Pali Vāseṭṭha	p.n. a brahman of Śrāvastī
129 / 54 / T40M41	摩頭羅世質 429c7; var. of #130	Mo-t'ou-lo-shih-chih	Ma-daw-la-ɕiaiʰ-tɕit/triʰ		Madhuvaśiṣtha	p.n. son of #128
130 / 54 / T40M41	摩頭羅瑟質 430a21	Mo-t'ou-lo-se-chih	Ma-daw-la-ʂit-tɕit/triʰ	Mi-sheng 蜜勝 Honey Superior	Madhuvaśiṣtha	p.n. son of #128
131 / 55 / T41M42	檀彌離 430c4, 11	T'an-mi-li	dan-mjiă/mji-liă/li			p.n. son of #132
132 / 55 / T41M42	曇摩貫質 → 貰 in later eds. 430c6	T'an-mo-kuan-chih → shih	dam/dam-ma-kwanʰ-tɕit → ʑiaʰ		Dharmaśreṣtha Dharmavaśiṣtha	p.n. an elder of Kośala
133 / 56 / T42M43	阿闍貰 431c18	A-she-shih	ʔa-dʑia-ʑiaʰ		Ajātaśatru	p.n. a prince
134 / 57 / TXMX	欝毘羅 433a12	Yü-p'i-lo	ʔut-bji-la		Uruvilvā	p.n. early convert of Śākyamuni
135 / 57 / TXMX	剎羅 433b2	Ch'a-lo	tʂʰait/tʂʰɛɨt-la		Chat[t]rā	p.n. a nun

Serial No. / Story No.	Sinographs (TJ page, register, line)	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in Hsien-yü ching	Sanskrit	Category
136 / 57 / TXMX	賓祇奇 433c2	Pin-ch'i-ch'i	pjin-gɨj-giă/gi		Piṅgiya	p.N. a man
137 / 57 / TXMX	淚吒 434c6	Lei-ch'a	lwih-thraɨh/trhɛɨ̣h (?)			p.N. elder son of a merchant of Vārāṇasī
138 / 57 / TXMX	阿淚吒 434c6	A-lei-ch'a	ʔa-lwih-thraɨh/trheɨ̣h (?)			p.N. younger son of a merchant of Vārāṇasī
139 / 57 / TXMX	摩訶男 435b27	Mo-ho-nan	ma-xa-nəm/nam		Mahānāma	p.N. an elder brother
140 / 57 / TXMX	勝伽 435c18	Sheng-ch'ieh	ɕiŋ-gɨa	chü 具 Complete	Samagra	p.N. a king
141 / 57 / TXMX	阿侍多 436a2	A-shih-to	ʔa-dʑɨh/dʑih-ta		Ajita	p.N. a monk
142 / 57 / TXMX	曇摩留支 436a9	T'an-mo-liu-chih	dəm/dam-ma-luw/luwh-tɕiă/tɕi		Dharmaruci Pāli Dhammaruci	p.N. a king
143 / 57 / TXMX	波塞奇 436a12	Po-sai-ch'i	pa-səjh-giă/gi			p.N. a king
144 / 58 / TXMX	律提 436c12	Lü-t'i	lwit-dɛj			p.N. a talking parrot

Serial No. / Story No.	Sinographs (T page, register, line)	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in *Hsien-yü ching*	Sanskrit	Category
145 / 58 / TXMX	賒律提 436c12	She-lü-t'i	gia-luit-dej			p.N. a talking parrot
146 / 58 / TXMX	豆佉 436c17	Tou-ch'ü/ch'ia	tawʰ-kʰɨa	K'u 苦 Bitterness	duhkha	t.t. one of the four noble truths
147 / 58 / TXMX	三牟提耶 436c17	San-mou-t'i-yeh	samʰ-muw-dej-jia	Hsi 習 Practice	samudaya	t.t. one of the four noble truths
148 / 58 / TXMX	尼樓陀 436c17	Ni-lou-t'o	nri-law-da	Mieh 滅 Destruction	Nirodha	t.t. one of the four noble truths
149 / 58 / TXMX	末加 ↳未 variant in Sung ed. 436c17	Mo-chia ↳Wei	Mat-kaɨ/kɛɨ ↳mujʰ	Tao 道 Way	mārga	t.t. one of the four noble truths
150 / 61 / T49M50	提毘 438a27	T'i-p'i	dej-bji			p.N. a king
151 / 61 / T49M50	蹅迦羅毘 438b1	Ch'a-chia-lo-p'i	drai/drɛɪ-kɨa-la-bji	Chien-shih 堅誓 Firm Resolve	Dṛḍhalabha (?)	p.N. a lion
152 / 61 / T49M50	耶羅羅 438b13	Yeh-lo-lo	jia-la-la		yalala	t.t. part of a lion's dhāraṇī
153 / 61 / T49M50	婆奢沙 438b13	P'o-she-sha	ba-ɕia-ʂai/ʂɛɪ		baśasa	t.t. part of a lion's dhāraṇī

Serial No. / Story No.	Sinographs (TT page, register, line)	Modern Standard Mandarin	Early Middle Sinitic	Chinese gloss in Hsien-yü ching	Sanskrit	Category
154 / 61 / T49M50	娑呵 438b13	So-he	sa-xa		svāhā	t.t. closing of a lion's dhāraṇī
155 / 61 / T49M50	奢摩 438b26	She-mo	ɕia-ma	Chü-hsien 俱閑 Having Leisure	Śama	p.n. a ṛṣi
156 / 64 / T45M46	瞿薩離 439c7	Ch'ü-sa-li	guǒ-sat- liǒ/li		Gosāla (?)	p.n. a king
157 / 64 / T45M46	文陀竭 439c14	Wen-t'o-chieh	mun-da- giat/giat	Ting-sheng 頂生 Top Born	Mūrdhagata (Divyāvadāna) Mūrdhajāta also known as Māndhātṛ Pāli Māndhāta	p.n. son of #156
158 / 65 / T46M47	蘇曼 440c16, 18	Su-man	sɔ-muanʰ		Sumanā	p.n. youngest daughter of Sudatta
159 / 66 / T38M39	婆世躓 441b26, c6	P'o-shih-chih	ba-ɕi-triʰ		Vaśiṣṭha Pāli Vāsettha Tib. Pa-śi-tair cf. #128	p.n. son of #160
160 / 66 / T38M39	尸利躓 441b27	Shih-li-chih	ɕi-liʰ-triʰ		Śrīvaśiṣṭha	p.n. an elder of Rājagṛha
161 / 67 / T47M48	優波毱提 442b12, 27	Yu-po-chü-t'i	ʔuw-pa-kuwk- dej		Upagupta Pāli Upagutta	p.n. son of #164
162 / 67 / T47M48	阿巴毱提 442b14	A-pa-chü-t'i	ʔa-pa/pɛ- kuwk-dej		-gupta Pāli -gutta	p.n. a brahmacārin of Śrāvastī

Mair *Hsien-yü ching* phonological data

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163 / 67 / T47M48	耶貰羇 442b24	Yeh-shih-chi	jia-ziah-kiă/ki		Yaśas	p.n. a disciple of Ananda
164 / 67 / T47M48	毱提 442b26	Chü-t'i	kuwk-dej		Gupta Pāli Gutta	p.n. a kulapati (lay Buddhist) of Vāran
165 / 67 / T47M48	難陀毱提 442c5	Nan-t'o-chü-t'i	nan-da-kuwk-dej		Nandagupta	p.n. a son of #163
166 / 68 / T50M51	隨葉 444b6	Sui-yeh	zwiă/zwi-jiap		Viśvabhu Pāli Vessabhu	p.n. a Buddha
167 / 69 / T51M52	均提 444b18, c5	Chün-t'i	kjwin-dej		Kuṇḍa (?) Tib. Kyun-teḥi Mong. Kyunte	p.n. a monk

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